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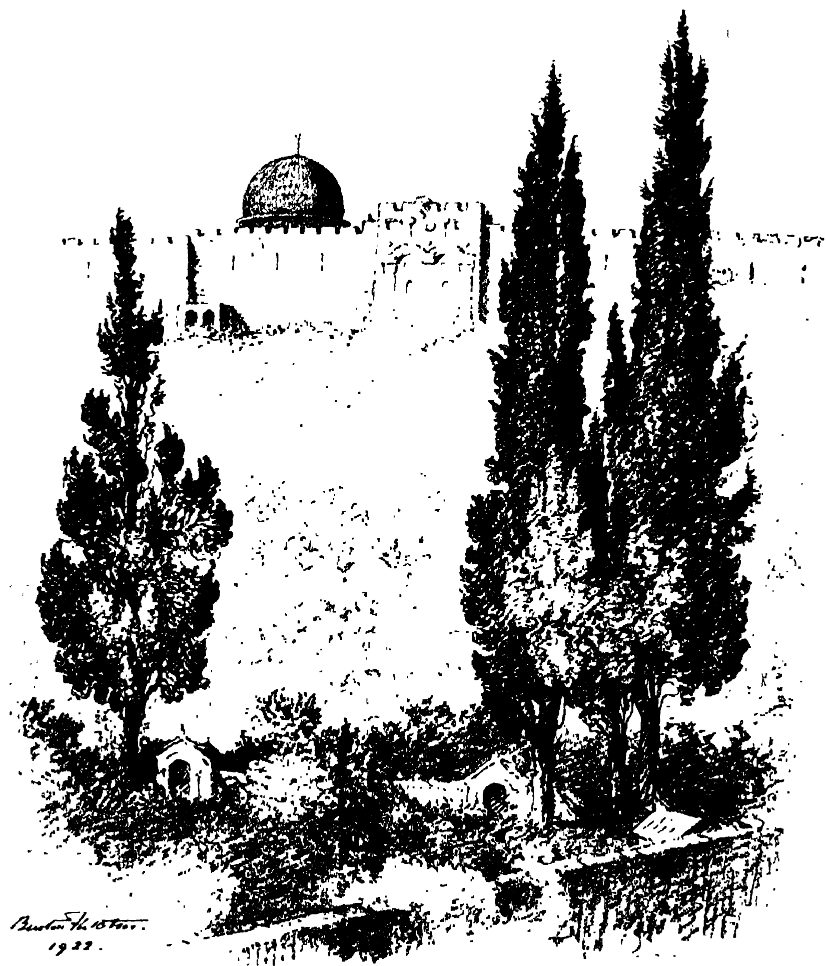
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JERUSALEM

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cannot be hid."

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PREFACE

THE invitation to write a book on Jerusalem, to accompany the fine series of illustrations drawn by Major Benton Fletcher, was not accepted without some hesitation.

So much has been written about Jerusalem that there seemed to be little need of any further publication upon this subject. Nevertheless, no book in recent days has appeared which gives a continuous account of the city of Jerusalem from the earliest days to the present, and the following pages are an attempt to supply this.

In view of the limited space afforded, it has been sternly necessary for the author to resist all temptation to dilate upon any particular period or any particular individual, to carry the story out of sight of the walls of Jerusalem itself, to explain or discuss the main religious questions which are indissolubly connected with the story, or to do more than suggest the extent and possibilities of the progress made in the cause of art and archæology on the site of Jerusalem. With equal rigour it was necessary to refrain from any comments upon the political situation in Jerusalem and Palestine at the time of writing.

Many books of varying interest and value have already been published about Jerusalem, and to many of these the author is indebted for much useful information.

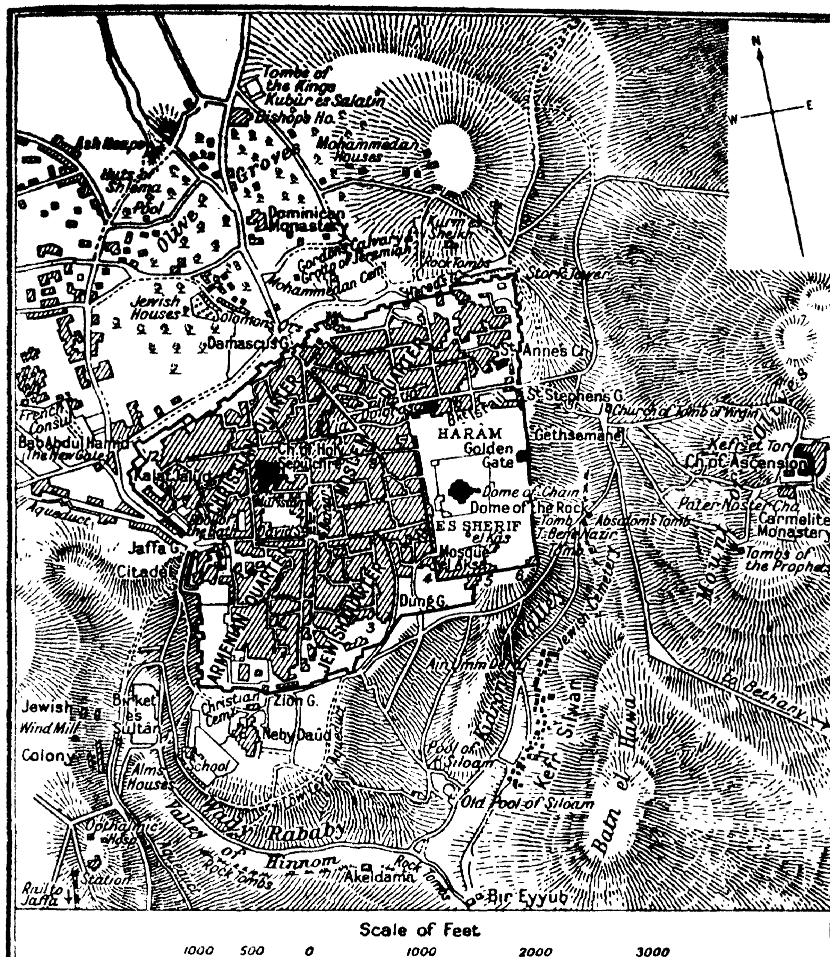
DATCHET,
December, 1923.

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JERUSALEM

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY—THE TOURIST IN JERUSALEM—A WALK ROUND THE CITY WALLS.

THE word Jerusalem is perhaps one of the most familiar in the English language. It is used in divers meanings, sometimes tending to extreme piety, sometimes to almost ribald irreverence. At all times the word runs easily and pleasantly from the lips. The Psalms in the Old Testament, the Gospels in the New, the Hymns of the Christian Church, have contributed to make in the twentieth century the word Jerusalem known all over the inhabited parts of the world's area. It was not always so. For centuries the word Jerusalem signified to the followers of Christ the spot where the Founder of their religion suffered death, was buried, and returned to life again—a spot consecrated by those memories. To the Jew, in whatever part of the world, in whatever alien city he lived, worked, and made money, the name Jerusalem signified the home of their past glory, the City of David, of Solomon, of Judas Maccabeus, and, not least, the site of that Temple which for a thousand years and more had unceasingly been enshrined in the memory and the prayers of their scattered nation. To the Mohammedan (or Muslim) the name Jerusalem signified a place intimately connected with the mysteries of their great Prophet's life, in addition to those of the Prophets Moses

and Isa (or Jesus). The word Jerusalem still carries the same significance, and to the believers in Jesus, in Moses, and in Mohammed, the Holy Sepulchre, the Temple of Solomon, and the Dome of the Rock are the outstanding symbols of their Faith. A new significance has in the twentieth century after the Birth of Christ arisen for many to whom the three deeper meanings are, it must be feared, of little account. For each of the three great Monotheistic religions of Christianity, Judaism, and Islam, the mountain city of Jerusalem used to be for centuries the goal of countless pilgrims, on foot, on horse, donkey, or camel, only attained by sustained and laborious effort, and remembered till death as one of the great feats accomplished during life. Modern civilisation has changed the significance of Jerusalem. The steamship, the railway, the automobile, the aeroplane, bring to the sacred site of three religions hordes of visitors, who can no longer be described as pilgrims but rather as tourists or sightseers for whom a hurried visit to Jerusalem is only an incident in a long and crowded programme of travel, and the word Jerusalem merely one to be ticked off in a guide-book as a passing show—for many such visitors perhaps one hardly worth the trouble of so long a journey.

When, therefore, after toiling up through the barren hills of Judæa from the noisy junction at Ludd, the traveller is at last almost without warning landed in a very modern railway station, amid a surging crowd of tourists, railway porters, hotel touts, intrusive guides, taxi-cabs, and omnibuses, he may well ask the question, Is this really the Holy City of Christ, the lost home of the

Jews, or the second most sacred city in the religion of Islam? Yet, did he know it, every mile of the way up through these barren hills is marked by some incident in history from the time of Abraham to that of Lord Allenby and Sir Herbert Samuel. The illusion is not dispelled as the traveller drives up, perhaps in clouds of dust, perhaps in a sheet of rain, under the high walls, towards the towers which mark the former palace of Herod the Great and are all that remains above ground of the former Jewish metropolis. At last, lodged in some hotel of moderate comfort, the traveller will wish to see with his own eyes some of those spots, with which his mind has probably been made familiar before he arrived.

At this point let him pause and take advice. If his time be limited to some useless few days, let him, above all, decline the services of any local guide, or even one from the ever friendly and obliging house of Thomas Cook and Son. Let him take his guide-book himself, and buy a map of the city, which can be obtained at the Store of the American Colony just inside the Jaffa Gate. If he should be unusually fortunate, he may obtain there the services of some member of this Colony, who will act as a willing shepherd without expectation of reward. In front of him he will see the huge walls of the Citadel, once the palace of Herod the Great and recently the stronghold of the Turk. Before plunging into the city by a narrow opening on his left, which is really the entrance to one of the main streets or bazaars, or Suks in common speech, let him strike out a line of his own and ask for the way up on to the wall of the city by the Citadel. These walls, which surround the Holy City

with but few gaps, have been made accessible under the British administration. Even if the greater part of the actual walls belong to some later date of the Turkish Government, the base and foundation in many cases are of older date, taking one back at the start to the time of King Herod Agrippa, and at a further portion of the circuit to the time of Solomon, even possibly of the Jebusites from whom David wrested the fortress. As the traveller stands on the wall he will look down on the busy road by which he came up from the railway station, and will see the modern city extending gradually over the near hills marked by large modern buildings of no architectural interest. On the other side of the wall he will look down into the ruins of the palace and fortress of Herod the Great, and beyond this he will pass the gardens, now the property of the Armenian Patriarch, near which is the first Protestant church to be founded in the Holy City. As the traveller passes on the wall towards the Zion Gate, or the Gate of David, he will be passing over the summit of the original hill of Zion, the original fortress of the Jebusites, the Upper City in the time of Jesus Christ. He will now see the steep declivity leading down to the valley, known to many as the Valley of Hinnom, the Gehenna of evil memory, in which once glowed the Tophet of still greater ill-repute. Below the wall lie the buildings of the Protestant School and the Protestant Cemetery, among which may still be traced the foundations of the original wall of the Jebusite fortress. On the top of this hill there now rises the fine but arrogant church and convent built by the Germans and dedicated to the Dormition of the Blessed Virgin.

Beneath the shadow of this intrusive edifice lie buildings connected by tradition with the Tomb of David, the house of the high priest Kaiaphas, and above all the Cœnaculum, for centuries past respected and revered as the spot in which Jesus Christ partook of the Last Supper with the Apostles. After passing the Zion Gate the traveller enters upon a new aspect. On his left he will look down upon the quarter of the city inhabited by the Jewish community, conspicuous among the buildings being the cupolas of the modern synagogues. Here on the slope of the hill leading down to the Tyropœan Valley were the palaces of the Hasmonean dynasty looking across the valley to Mount Moriah. On the right he will see the hill-side sloping down to the deep valley, in which he may descry a small Turkish minaret, which indicates the famous Pool of Siloam. All this hill-slope is the site of Ophel and the City of David. Once known as Akra, its height was equal to that of Mount Moriah, but this hill was reduced in height under the Maccabees. On its northern side lies the Virgin's Pool, the spring of perennial pure water upon which the safety of Jerusalem depended. A deep ravine formerly ran as a continuation of the Tyropœan Valley between Ophel and the Temple area, which has been filled up by intention in early days and by accumulation of rubbish during ensuing centuries. The wall will bring the traveller to the so-called Dung Gate, or the Gate of the Moorish Arabs. If he has his Bible in his pocket and can turn to the book of Nehemiah, he will find that one of the city gates was in those days called the Dung Gate. Indeed, the sewage of Jerusalem has throughout its history been carried into the valley

of Siloam to fertilise the gardens, which now fill so much of the hill-side in that direction. At the Dung Gate, if the traveller should stand outside, he will look down on the deep valley of the Kedron over to the village of Siloam on the opposite side of the valley, with the series of large architectural tombs to the left. In the distance in front of him, far away, he will see the blue and purple mountains of Moab, rising beyond the Jordan, beneath which lie the waters of the Dead Sea. On his immediate left the wall, here inaccessible, is continued to join the steep wall on the cliff of Mount Moriah, out of which hangs, as it were, the back of the Mosque of Aksa and the remains of a Crusaders' Castle. On this slope in old days stood the palace and public buildings erected by King Solomon, connected by flights of steps and bridges over the ravine with the City of David and Ophel. From this side also Joab forced a way into the fortress of the Jebusites on that Zion which the inhabitants thought impregnable.

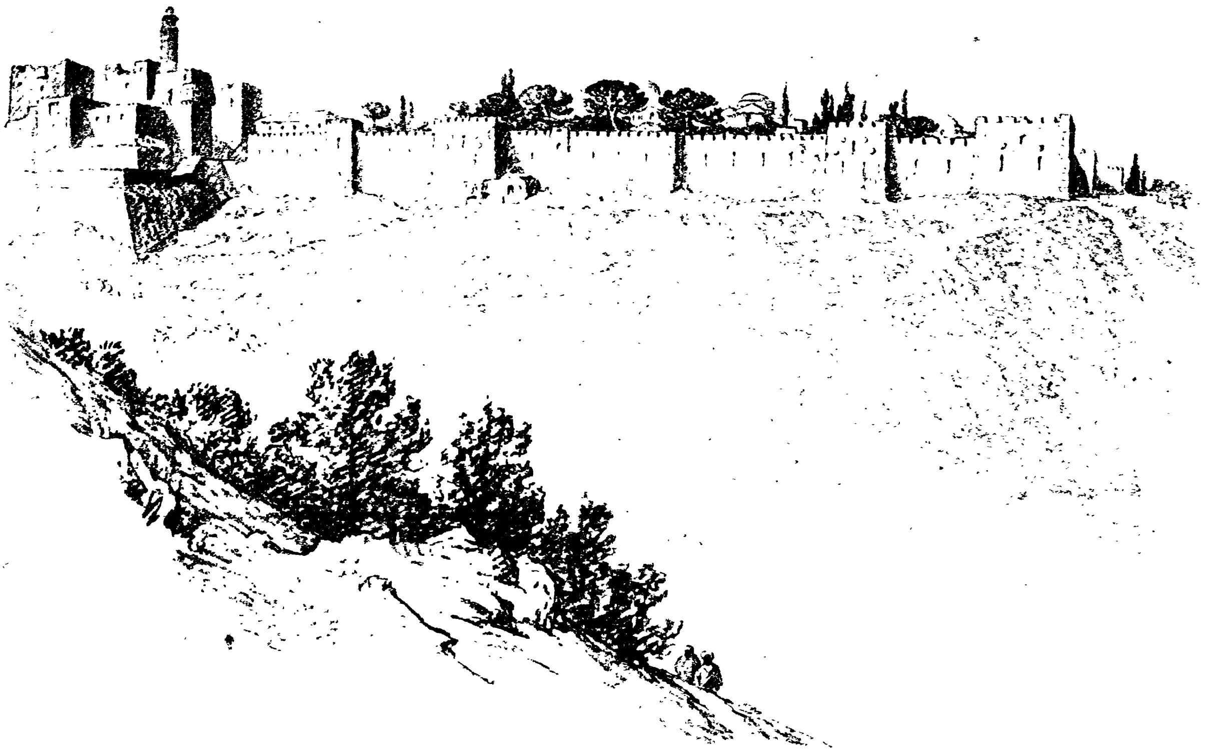
Within the Dung Gate the traveller will find himself in the mouth of the Tyropœan Valley, once a wide ravine separating the Upper City and Mount Zion from the Temple on Mount Moriah. A bridge and various causeways led from one hill to the other. The valley led uphill into the heart of the city, but is now filled up and to a great extent covered with buildings. In front of Zion rises the great block of wall which encircles the hill of Mount Moriah, on which the Temple once stood, but which is now dominated by the dome of the so-called Mosque of Omar, really the Dome of the Rock, Qubbet-el-Sakra. As the traveller cannot as yet proceed further

on the wall within the precincts of the sanctuary, the Háram-esh-Sherif, he must turn his steps inwards through a grove of prickly pear, until he reaches a narrow street which will take him in the first place to a spot outside the wall of the Haram, where the Jews congregate, chiefly on Fridays, to lament the sad fate of their Temple and to pray for the restoration in Jerusalem of the worship of Jahweh. This is an interesting, though rather unpleasing spectacle, and in these days not free from some suspicion of political advertisement. From this spot a few short narrow streets lead to one of the side gates of the Haram-esh-Sherif. If the gate be open and it be not the Mohammedan hour of prayer the traveller can enter, and he will find himself at the end of a wonderful plateau, studded with strangely shaped buildings, and many wells, in the centre of which rises the many-coloured circular building, Qubbet-el-Sakra, the Dome of the Rock, the second most sacred spot in Islam. On his right hand the traveller will see the portico of the Mosque of Aksa. He is not only at this moment within the precincts of the Haram-esh-Sherif, the Most Noble Sanctuary, but he is gazing on the site on which once rose the many-towered buildings of the successive Temples of Jahweh built by King Solomon, by Zerubbabel, and by King Herod the Great, each one of which perished utterly in turn, the last and greatest succumbing to the mad fury of the Roman soldiers at the siege under Titus in 70 A.D., when even the site of the Temple was ploughed up beyond recognition.

Crossing the Haram to the outer wall, the traveller should mount the wall and look down and across the valley

of the brook Kedron. Once the high wall seemed even steeper and higher than it is to-day, and its foundations, probably those actually laid by King Solomon, are now buried in a vast accumulation of earth and rubbish. Down in the valley and up the other side is the grove of old olive trees among which is the Garden of Gethsemane, sacred to all believers in Jesus Christ; from this garden rises the mountain path, which leads upwards to the Mount of Olives, perhaps the most famous and most beloved hill in the world's history. Over the hill, out of sight, lies the village of Bethany. There sometimes dwelt Jesus Christ during His ministry in Jerusalem, and thence He came down and crossed the Kedron, and ascended the steep path leading to the Gate of the Temple, now occupied by the Golden Gate, which can be seen in the wall to the traveller's left. Here at all events the traveller can look upon the paths once trodden by the Saviour of mankind. Let him now descend and cross the Haram to its north-west angle, where a gate in the walls leads into a street at the end of which is the city gate known as the Gate of S. Stephen, or of the Lady Mary (Sitti Mariam). Close by this gate is the Crusaders' Church of S. Anne, below which is the reported site of the Pool of Bethesda. Near here the traveller can reascend the wall, and walk along it around the Mohammedan quarter, known as Bezetha, with the high ground, to which the name of Akra has been transferred. He will now be looking across the valley, where it widens out to Mount Scopus, on which the Roman army under Titus was once encamped. Conspicuous to-day on this hill is the great building erected by the German Emperor

II.



THE CITADEL AND CITY WALL, WITH THE GARDEN OF HEROD (NOW THE ARMENIAN CONVENT)

as a Hospice, but which is now used as the official residence of the High Commissioner of Palestine. Soon the wall will bring the traveller to the Damascus Gate, the most important entrance to the city after the Jaffa Gate, whence the roads start which lead northward to Nablus and Galilee, eastward to Jericho and the Jordan, or westward to Jaffa. Crossing the Damascus Gate and still on the wall, the traveller will proceed round the quarter occupied by the Christian community, and see before him looming large the great buildings of the Franciscans, of the Greek patriarchates, of the Latin patriarchate, while above them rise the square tower and the domes, which mark the site of the Holy Sepulchre.

Eventually the traveller will find himself back at the Jaffa Gate whence he started, after passing the New Gate, made by order of the Sultan Abdul Hamid for the convenience of the new modern city outside the walls. By this time the traveller will have been able to store his mind with historical details from the time of the Jebusites to that of the German Emperor, William II.

The traveller's next journey should be through the narrow streets and the Suks, or bazaars, in the heart of the city. Entering the narrow opening in front of him, as he approaches from the Jaffa Gate, he will find himself in one of the principal streets, known as David Street. He will meet a stream of the strangest mixture of races which he is likely to see anywhere; Arabs of all sorts in white gallibayeh, coloured mantles (or abayeh) and variegated head-cloths (or kuffiyeh). The practised eye can pick out the various tribes represented, including the

local Canaanite in his orange turban, the Bedaween in the striped abayeh, the Muslim, who has made his pilgrimage to Mecca, in his green turban, the Jew of the Ashkenazim, with greasy curly front hair and a generally unpleasing appearance, and the Jew of the Sephardim, a more dignified figure. Priests and monks of all sorts pass going and coming, and one can tell from their head-dress to what community they belong. Sometimes a band of negroes will be met, the Abyssinian Christians, who played a considerable part in the early history of Christianity. Frequently the pedestrian has to stand aside in a shop to let a heavily laden donkey pass, and sometimes he will be surprised to find a lumbering camel, either looking over his head from behind, or apparently blocking the whole street in front. On either side of the street is a line of shops. This street leads direct downhill towards the Haram-esh-Sherif, but if the traveller should be a good Christian, he will wish to take the first turn to the left, which will bring him near to the precincts of the Holy Sepulchre. In this street he will have on his left behind the shops one of the great reservoirs, or Birkets, popularly known as the Pool of Hezekiah. Some way on an archway on the right leads to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. This is not the first building which the traveller will see, for in front of him is the small Mosque and Minaret, built by the Caliph Omar after his capture of Jerusalem, when he refused to allow the destruction of the Christian Church. Walking round this the traveller will come to a flight of steps which will lead him into the courtyard of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. He will see in front of him the entrance into

what was once the great Crusaders' Church, beneath the roof of which are the site of Calvary and the spot whereon the body of Jesus Christ is stated by tradition of some fifteen or sixteen centuries to have rested before His Resurrection. Let him curb his anxiety to enter the church, for he can postpone this to another day, but let him leave the courtyard by a small gate in the wall opposite to that by which he has entered, reflecting on the singular maintenance of the tradition that no Jew shall be allowed to set foot within these precincts. Outside this gate he will be in sight of the German Lutheran Church planted by the German Emperor in 1898 on part of the property once belonging to the Order of S. John in Jerusalem. Keeping straight ahead he will find himself in the busy Arab or Mohammedan quarter, and turning to the left in the principal Suk he will be on his way to the Damascus Gate, whither the motley crowd which surrounds him will be pressing. Before he reaches this gate he will pass a low dark archway, and, turning down this, he will find himself in the far-famed Via Dolorosa, the steep way up which Jesus Christ toiled in sweat and agony to meet His death on Calvary. Descending this the traveller can trace the path of Jesus, turning a corner once and again, until he will find himself in a more modern street, which will lead him past the site of the Roman prisons of Antonia, and the Prætorium of old days, whence Jesus issued upon His last and dreadful progress to death. Towards the end of this street the traveller will find an opening leading into the Haram-esh-Sherif, which he had entered before on a previous occasion, but at the other end. Let him cross this now

and inspect the Dome of the Rock in all its singular beauty, and also the so-called Dome of the Chain close by. If the moment be favourable, let him go up to the Shrine itself and, after having large slippers put over his alien and heathen feet, enter the famous building, and inspect its wonders inside. No one can view the Rock itself without emotion, as it is connected with so many incidents in the religious history of mankind.

After leaving the Dome of the Rock let him proceed to theg ate known as the Gate of the Chain, Bab-el-Silsileh, and after passing through a courtyard of interesting old Saracenic buildings he will find himself once more in David Street, up which he will proceed until he comes to the turning, down which he had started to find his way to the Holy Sepulchre. As he ascends the street he will find on his left the great Jewish quarter, and higher up on the right, where the daily fruit-market is held, the ruins of the great buildings formerly occupied by the Order of S. John of Jerusalem. Thence he will finally return to the Jaffa Gate and the Citadel.

The next journey should be to the Mount of Olives and Siloam, and round across the Valley of Hinnom to the hill the other side, in order to obtain a succession of views of the most interesting features of Jerusalem from the outside. When this is completed the traveller will at all events have seen most of what is really interesting in Jerusalem from a general historical point of view. If he has more time to spare, let him visit the various buildings of interest with circumspection and as leisurely as possible, in order to try and arrive for himself at the

underlying value in history of nearly every part of the City of Jerusalem within its walls. The following pages are an attempt by unbiassed historical narrative to enable the traveller to realise the strange and wonderful history of Jerusalem from its earliest days to the twentieth century after Christ.

CHAPTER II

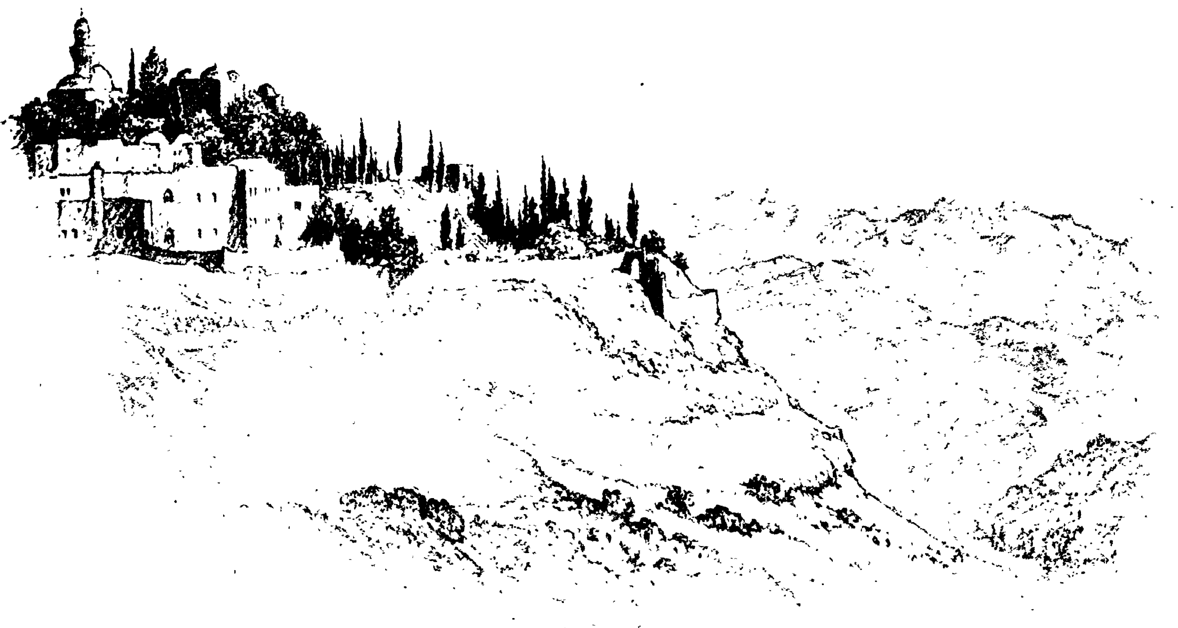
EARLY HISTORY OF JERUSALEM—MELCHIZEDEK—THE TELL-EL-AMARNA TABLETS—THE JEBUSITES—DAVID—MOUNT OPHEL.

THE history of Palestine, including that of Jerusalem, depends mainly upon oral traditions handed down from generation to generation, from tribe to tribe, until it was collected, arranged, and, it may be said, published by skilled writers during and subsequent to the Babylonian Captivity. The value of such history can only be gauged by its probability, and by the scanty documentary evidence which has been discovered in recent days. Scanty as this evidence is up to the present, it goes some way to show that oral tradition, however distorted and exaggerated it may be by the accretions of myth and legend, must never be dismissed as devoid of any truth. This is particularly the case with the history of Palestine, because the compilers, at whatever date the work was taken in hand, had a wealth of materials ready for digestion, and have handed down to posterity a chronicle, which is really unsurpassed among other such compilations dealing with the history of the civilised world.

The earliest history of Palestine, like that of neighbouring countries in Asia, is lost in the sands of time. A few facts can be established, which were as obvious in the earliest dawn of history as they are in the twentieth century after the Birth of Jesus Christ, over a period of some three to four thousand years of the world's social

history. In Eastern chronology a thousand years is but an episode, and the histories of Egypt and Assyria, as at present known, extend into the past far beyond that of Palestine, while modern researches, even at the actual time when this book is being written, tend to reveal bygone civilised history, even of earlier date than Egypt or Assyria. Human society in those prehistoric days was tribal and nomad, governed by the laws of self-preservation on the one hand and those of Nature on the other. The former rendered it necessary to employ human activity to provide food and clothing by industry, craft, or physical strength, while for geographical reasons, as well as domestic, the laws of Nature demanded of humanity a frequent shifting of home within certain defined limitations, in order to secure the conditions of life necessary for self-preservation. For geographical reasons Palestine was, as it is now, the gangway between the great countries of the Middle East, increasing more and more in importance, as human energy and human intelligence began to make greater use of the seas as a means of communication from land to land. The mountain ranges, which extend from the Lebanon in Syria to Sinai on the Red Sea, are the natural breakwater which forms the barrier between the great inland sea of Europe, which we know as the Mediterranean, from what must have been once as great a sea on the eastern side, now the great plain watered by the rivers Euphrates and Tigris, known as Iraq, or Mesopotamia. In a similar way the mountains of North Africa bar the way between the Mediterranean and the former great inland seas of Libya and Sahara. When the tribal

races began to concentrate in fixed communities, usually round some centre of religious import, the gangway to the outer world became of importance both for protection and for commerce. Palestine was one of the chief routes for military and commercial purposes, and early in the day there arose a chain of fixed settlements of varying importance, in most cases situated on the top or side of a mountain, so as to afford security against hostile attacks by neighbours or invaders. Tradition narrates that Abram migrated from Chaldæa to the fertile uplands of the Hauran, and was impelled by divine instigation to push further on into Canaan, by which name Palestine was to a great extent known in those days, with a promise that his descendants should possess and inhabit the land. Moving, therefore, in this direction Abram struck the line of mountains forming the watershed between the Jordan and the Mediterranean, and decided to proceed himself along the mountain ridge to the south, while his nephew, Lot, proceeded down the valley of the Jordan to the Dead or Salt Sea, still known locally as the Sea of Lot. The fertile plains between the mountains and the western sea were inhabited by the rich and prosperous races of the Phœnicians at Tyre and Sidon in the north, and the Philistines on the south up to the border of the desert between Palestine and Egypt. Thus the journey of Abram brought him at last to a mountain home at Hebron, with which the history of his time, as of his sons and grandsons, is mainly connected. His visit to Egypt is supposed to have taken place during the Twelfth Dynasty (about 2000 B.C.). Only once is there any mention of Jerusalem at this date, and this not



THE PROTESTANT CEMETERY ON MOUNT ZION

Showing the Scarp of the Jebusite Fortress and the Valley of Hinnon

completely proved. Towards the end of his life Abram, whose enterprises had up to this time not been of a warlike nature, led an armed expedition to help his kinsmen, who had settled under Lot in the Jordan Valley, and who had been attacked and carried into captivity by marauding bands from the east. In this enterprise Abram was successful, pursuing the invaders as far as Damascus. On his return he was met by two of the princes, or Sheikhs, whose lands he had freed. This is the story as told in the book of Genesis (A.V.):

"And he brought back all the goods, and also brought again his brother Lot, and his goods, and the women also, and the people. And the king of Sodom went out to meet him after his return from the slaughter of Chedorlaomer, and of the kings that were with him, at the valley of Shaveh, which is the king's dale. And Melchizedek king of Salem brought forth bread and wine: and he was the priest of the most high God."

It is generally, though by no means universally accepted, that Salem here mentioned is identical with Yerushalem, the earliest name for the city in the Hebrew language, the Uru-salim of Egyptian records. That Jerusalem is indicated is rendered likely by geographical guidance. The Jordan being a rushing mountain torrent can only be crossed at certain spots. One of these was at Beth-shan or Beisan in the north, by which it may be assumed Abram crossed during his trek from the Hauran. Another ford is lower down between Ajlun and Nablus, and a third and much-used ford existed as it does to-day, leading from the Jordan Valley near Jericho to the countries of what is now called Transjordania. If Abram brought Lot and his tribe back to their homes

in the valley of Siddim, better known as Sodom, he would, after leaving the valley of Jericho, proceed up the hills towards Jerusalem, by a route traversed for centuries by travellers of all races. It would not be necessary for him to enter the mountain fortress of Salem, but only natural for the king or prince of that place to come out to meet the returning victors, and congratulate them on their success, wishing them Godspeed on the journey back to Hebron.

There is a special importance about this incident. It shows that at this very early date a priestly caste was ruling in Jerusalem, where the prince or high priest was styled Melchi-Zedek, a name compiled from the Phœnician El Melek, the mighty one, and Zedek, the righteous, or holy. It is through names of this sort that history can be traced, and the title of Zedek not only denotes the existence of an authoritative priesthood, but continues throughout the history of Jerusalem, coming to the front again under David and Solomon in the person of Zadok, the priests carrying on as the Zadokite caste, as distinct from the Levite, and finally merging itself in the aristocratic hierocracy of the Sadducees. In this way a permanent residential class is shown to have existed in Jerusalem, unaffected by invasions, kingdoms, captivities, or foreign governments, from before the days of Abram to the final dispersion of the Jews under the Emperor Hadrian.

Another proof of the existence of Jerusalem, or Urusalim, as an occupied and fortified city, prior to the Hebrew invasion, is given by a tablet from Tell-el-Amarna in Egypt (now at Berlin), being a letter from

one Abd-hiba, a resident authority in the land of Jerusalem, then part of Syria, which had been under vassalage to Egypt since the days of Thothmes I. (1550 B.C.), who, while sending his tribute, asks for protection against the Chabiri or Habiri, who were attacking Jerusalem, the fortified capital of a small territory, held by too small a garrison against invaders and raiders. The tablets at Tell-el-Amarna, the city of the heretic King of Egypt, Khu-en-aten (or Akhen-aten), can be dated by modern chronology as about 1450–1400 B.C., and afford conclusive proof of the dependence of Palestine and Syria upon Egypt at this date, and under the Eighteenth Dynasty. This Egyptian suzerainty has been further proved by recent discoveries at Beisan. The tradition, which connects the Exodus of the Hebrews from Egypt and the consequent wanderings in the desert under Moses with the Pharaohs of the Nineteenth Dynasty, Rameses II., and Mer-en-Ptah, would place these historic events at about a century later (1350–1300 B.C.) than the letter at Tell-el-Amarna, in which are mentioned the Chabiri, a tribe or race identified by many authorities with the Hebrews. Under Rameses II. the Egyptians received a severe defeat in Syria, and in consequence evacuated Palestine, which may account for the easier passage of the Hebrews under Joshua.

Jerusalem itself was inhabited at an early date by a tribe known as Jebus, apparently a migratory tribe from the East, not autochthonous, and when Joshua at the head of the Hebrews crossed the Jordan and forced his way into Canaan by the might of the sword, he seems to have made no attempt to attack the Jebusites in their fortress

of Jerusalem. It was not until the town of Gibeah, which had received and made terms with Joshua, was attacked by five neighbouring kings, that Joshua and the Hebrews came into contact with the Jebusites at Jerusalem. One of the five kings, who were captured and put to death by Joshua after the victory of Beth-Horon, was Adoni-Zedek, King of Jerusalem. Here again the name Zedek denotes the priestly caste, while the name Adoni, signifying Lord, or Prince, like the Phœnician Melek, is taken from the Syrian worship of Adonis, known as such throughout Syria and Phœnicia, though as Tammuz in Babylonia and Persia. The city of Jerusalem was the scene a few years later of an attack and victory by the tribe of Judah over the King Adoni-Bezek, on which occasion Judah is said to have fought against Jerusalem and taken it and smitten it with the edge of the sword, and set the city on fire. In spite of this capture the Jebusites were not dislodged or subdued. In the division of the land of Canaan between the Twelve Tribes Jerusalem fell to the lot of the tribe of Benjamin, although only separated from Judah by a narrow valley. It is stated with some care in the book of Judges that the border of Judah's territory "went up by the valley of the son of Hinnom unto the south side of the Jebusite, the same is Jerusalem"; and the border of Benjamin "came down to the end of the mountain that lieth before the valley of the Son of Hinnom, and which is in the valley of the Giants on the north, and descended to the valley of Hinnom, to the side of Jebusi on the south, and descended to En Rogel." It is, however, stated with some emphasis that the children of Benjamin did not

drive out the Jebusites that inhabited Jerusalem; " but the Jebusites dwell with the children of Benjamin in Jerusalem unto this day." This fact is further illustrated by the tragedy of the Levite and his concubine, who, while passing from Bethlehem-Judah to the country of Ephraim, came late in the day over against " Jebus, which is Jerusalem," but, although urged to stop there for the night, would not turn into this city of the Jebusites because it was " the city of a stranger, that is not of the children of Israel." They therefore pressed on to Gibeah in Benjamin, where the tragedy occurred with its terrible consequences in the tribal blood-feud which ensued.

Nothing more is heard of Jerusalem until the latter days of the reign of David, when David and his men went to Jerusalem unto the Jebusites, the inhabitants of the land, but were refused admission with scorn, as the city was thought to be impregnable. " Nevertheless, David took the stronghold of Zion; the same is the City of David." From this time Jerusalem takes a prominent place in the history of the world.

David had for some years been King or Prince of Judah, with his seat of government at Hebron, and there had been great rivalry between the kingdom of Judah and that of Israel under Saul. Both kingdoms were hardly pressed, and indeed almost tributary to the Philistines, but whereas David managed to make his peace by treaty with the Philistines, Saul, who was as much a military as a civil administrator, strove for independence. The defeat and death of Saul at the battle of Mount Gilboa, followed by the invasion of the Philistines, in addition to their previous destruction of the sacred

tabernacle of Shiloh in Ephraim, in which the Ark of the Covenant had been enshrined, forced David to come up from Hebron to defend the Israelites. The murder of Saul's surviving son, Ish-Baal, or Ish-Bosheth, as well as that of Abner, the brave general of the Israelite army, removed all antagonism on the part of the Israelites to the sovereignty of David and the tribe of Judah. To consolidate this kingdom, as well as to provide a more central fortress against the Philistines and a safer sanctuary for the Ark, which had been rescued from Shiloh, the fortified city of Jerusalem offered the most suitable centre. As the Jebusites refused to surrender the city, David took it by siege, and established his government in a fortified situation on Mount Zion. When he was securely settled, he made arrangements to transport the Ark of the Covenant to a sanctuary within the walls of Jerusalem. It is possible, bearing in mind the peculiar topography of Jerusalem, and in the light of recent explorations, to trace the progress of David's siege and occupation of Jerusalem.

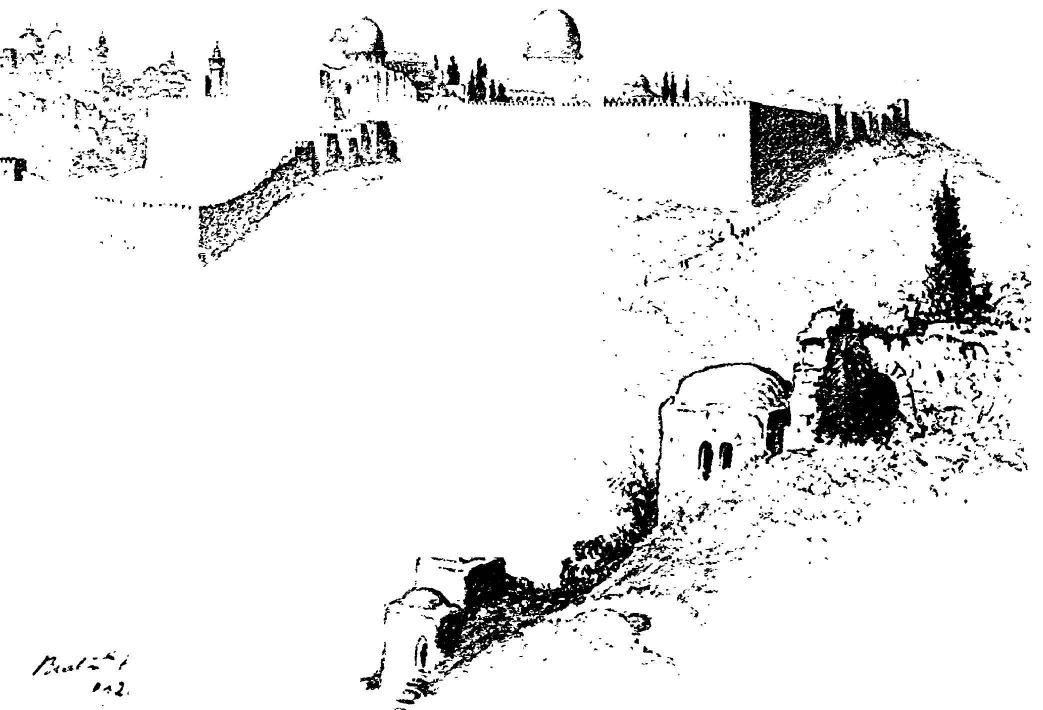
Jerusalem was at that day, as at the present time, dependent upon its supply of water. Apart from the cisterns, which caught and stored the rain-water during the rainy season, the only supply of fresh spring-water was that known in later years as the Virgin's Spring (in Arabic Ain Oumm ed-Daradj) whence the Pool of Siloam was supplied. This spring is probably identical with En or Ain Rogel, mentioned in the determinations of the borders between the tribes of Benjamin and Judah, although this spring is usually placed lower down the valley. The small fortified town was on the south-

east hill, a kind of acropolis, known then as the hill of Zion. It was protected by the deep valley of Hinnom on the south and east, and by another valley on the north, known in later years as the Tyropœan Valley. The valley of Hinnom extended under the hill-side up to the aforesaid spring, which was protected by the hill of Ophel, a spur of the lower or north-eastern hill on which the Temple was subsequently to be erected, this hill being again further protected by the deep-cut valley of the Kedron, which joins the valley of Hinnom below Siloam.

It is fairly obvious that in ancient days those who occupied the hill of Ophel, as well as the hill-side commanding the valley of Hinnom, could speedily reduce the fort on the hill of Zion, as the supply of fresh water could be cut off and the garrison starved into submission. It was Ophel, therefore, that David captured first, after which Zion was stormed by the skill and bravery of Joab, David's nephew and captain of his host, and was soon surrendered by the Jebusites. Although a certain amount of fighting and slaughter took place, the Jebusites were not expelled altogether, though David transferred his fortress, under Joab's direction, from Ophel to Mount Zion. It was there that David established his seat of government, as the King of "United Israel." On Ophel he built himself a palace, large enough to contain his numerous wives and their families. Some of his children were grown up when David settled in Jerusalem, others were born in Jerusalem. It was there that David from his palace roof beheld the beautiful wife of Uriah the Hittite, bathing in her house near by,

and was led away by his passion for Bathsheba to force Uriah to his death in action. At Jerusalem Bathsheba gave birth to Solomon, her second son, the first-born having died in infancy. It was under David and at Jerusalem that Israel for the first time was united " from Dan to Beersheba " under a single organised government, military, civil, and religious. One of David's public achievements was the bringing of the Ark of the Covenant into Jerusalem, and the erection of a new tabernacle on Mount Zion, in which it could be enshrined. The original tabernacle, or tent, which had enshrined the Ark since the days of Moses, was left on the heights of Gibeon, with the sacred vessels, but the Ark was brought by stages from its temporary home at Kirjath-jearim. When the procession reached Jerusalem, the king himself took part, singing and dancing, and playing music, up the hill to the new sanctuary. Those who have seen a religious procession in the East, charged with similar religious ecstasy, such as the annual Muslim feast of Nebi-Musa, can imagine the scene as the procession came up the steep hill-side to Zion. Michal, one of David's wives, the daughter of King Saul, and proud of her rank in the palace, saw the procession as it approached, and upbraided the king for his loss of dignity and decency in joining the festivities himself.

David was not content with a mere tabernacle as the shrine of the one true God, whose worship the Israelites had introduced. If the Gods of Phœnicia, Philistia, Egypt, had their temples, as the outward and visible sign of their worship, surely the God of the Hebrews, Jahweh (or Jehovah), must be as well housed and as well served.



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David himself incurred the displeasure of Jahweh for numbering his people, no doubt with a view towards taxation, and sought to appease the wrath of his God by building a Temple for the worship of Jahweh. From his palace on Zion he looked across the broad valley, which then divided Jerusalem into two sections, on to the hill, afterwards known as Mount Moriah, the main part of the ridge of which Ophel was the final projection. On the top of this hill was a level piece of open rock, and on this Araunah (or Ornan), one of the chief leaders of the Jebusite inhabitants, had established a threshing-floor. By divine guidance David saw that this spot was suitable for the new sanctuary, and at once entered into a bargain with Araunah for the site. Araunah offered the site to King David for a present, but David would not accept it as a gift, insisting on payment in silver for the possession of the rock. On this rock David planned to build his new Temple, and thus concentrate the worship of Jahweh in the new capital city of Jerusalem.

David may be regarded as one of the most remarkable characters in history. He was perhaps the first king, or ruler, to develop the political aspect of government as against the military or polemic. Jerusalem became not only the religious centre of the kingdom, but the political and commercial centre as well. By dexterous diplomacy David gradually consolidated his power, aided by the members of his family, who seem to have recognised in David the real leader of their clan. The sons of his sister Zeruiah, Asahel, Amasa, and above all, Joab, a romantic and sinister figure, pass across the stage. By process of extermination the royal House of Saul

became extinct in the male line, and David completed the absorption of the kingly rank by his marriage with Michal, the daughter of Saul.

Out of the many tribes, once hostile but now content to be governed, which dwelt in the land in and about Jerusalem, and especially those in the Negeb or Southern Palestine, David managed to create an army, a bodyguard, and a local police. He established friendly relations with the Philistines, the incessant enemies of Israel, and Philistines were among the ranks of his supporters. Jerusalem became, as it was in the days of Jesus Christ, and as it is in the twentieth century, a meeting-place of tribes and races from far and wide. A ruler with so liberal and so opportunistic an outlook over government is bound to meet with opposition from the more conservative parties among his people. At Jerusalem David had many dangers and difficulties in his path. Jerusalem itself formed a bond of unity between the tribes of Benjamin and Judah, but northwards over the hills lay the city of Shechem, the ancient capital of the kingdom of Israel, now the unwilling and restless subject of the former King of Judah. There danger lurked.

Nearer home the removal of the Tabernacle with the Ark of the Covenant to Jerusalem, and the building of a Temple for the worship of Jahweh, excited the hostility of the hereditary priesthood, represented by Abiathar, who traced his birthright and priestly office back through the sons of Eli to Moses himself. He had been the devoted adherent of David in his earlier days, but now saw the high priesthood of Jahweh in course of being

transferred to the resident priesthood in Jerusalem, under Zadok, the representative of a cult which claimed antecedence over that introduced by the Hebrews under Moses. More immediate danger existed in the ranks of David's own family. He brought with him from Hebron both wives and children. Among the latter were three sons, Amnon, Adonijah, and Absalom, to all of whom their father seems to have shown great affection and indulgence. After David had taken up his residence in Jerusalem a new wife, Bathsheba, whom David had taken from his stout and faithful retainer, Uriah the Hittite, seems to have been the ruling favourite in David's harem. The circumstances of her marriage were in violation of the Mosaic Law, but after a time of expiation Bathsheba, aided by Zadok, the high priest, and Nathan, the prophet, who was apparently the keeper of the king's conscience, established her son, Solomon, as the king's favourite child and destined successor. A series of tragedies ensued, which darkened the closing years of David's life. They all arose from an outrage committed by Amnon, David's eldest son, upon his half-sister, Tamar, own sister to Absalom. Absalom avenged his sister's shame by procuring the death of Amnon. The blood-feud thus initiated, bore fruit in the conspiracy of Absalom against his father under the treacherous advice of David's friend, Ahithophel, and his flight to Hebron, where he proclaimed himself as king. This rebellion assumed such proportions that David fled from Jerusalem, and took refuge with his family, as well as with the Ark and sacred vessels of the Covenant, on the other side of Jordan, abandoning Jerusalem to Joab and

such of the army as were faithful to David. The romantic story of Absalom's career and defeat cannot be told here. When it was over, and Absalom was dead, the old king returned to Jerusalem and wept for his much-loved son.

Then came Adonijah with his claim to the succession, supported by Joab and Abiathar, but his attempt to seize the sovereignty was thwarted by Bathsheba and Nathan, who persuaded the king to allow Zadok, the high priest, to consecrate at once the younger brother Solomon, as the future king.

When David died, he was buried in his new capital, now known as the City of David. Tradition of a much later date says that he was buried in state in a cavern on Mount Zion, in which his successors on the throne of Judah were buried after him. In a mosque built over the reputed site of this cavern, known as Neby Daud, a cenotaph exists, which is reverenced by the Muslims as the tomb of David. The real place of burial is not known yet for certain. It was known in the days of Jesus Christ. According to the account given by Nehemiah about 445 B.C. the sepulchres of David were on the western side of the Temple, on Ophel near the Pool of Siloam, and at the siege of Jerusalem in A.D. 70 this was the reputed site.

In spite of the alterations in the configuration of Jerusalem, due to the filling up of the valleys which marked off the separate hills on which the city was built, it is quite possible to discover by patient observation the general boundaries of the original City of David, and that of the Jebusites before him. No building, of course, remains above ground after nearly three thousand years,

but the hills of Jerusalem are still there. If you go up to the southern side of the present Mount Zion outside the existing walls to the Protestant Cemetery and the School founded by the Anglican Bishop Gobat, traces of walls and fortifications can be seen, which prove that the original fortified city extended further over and above the deep valley of Hinnom. Proceeding eastwards from thence, but still outside the walls to the slope outside the so-called Dung Gate, you can look out over Ophel and Siloam immediately before and below you, and can work out the methods of attack by which David was able to reduce the Jebusite fortress. The Temple was yet to come, when David died.

On Ophel itself (el-Dehoura in modern Arabic) recent excavations have revealed from fragments of pottery and similar objects the fact that this hill, and probably the neighbouring heights of Zion and Mount Moriah, had been inhabited by the Canaanites, or Israelites, from an early date in the history of civilised man, earlier even than the days of Melchizedek, of Abd-hiba, or, of course, of David himself. These excavations have also shown that even in the earliest days the safety and impregnability of the fortified town lay in the elaborate underground communications with the perennial stream of fresh water, by a series of aqueducts, which were more highly developed in later years under the Kings of Judah, as shown by recent exploration.

CHAPTER III

SOLOMON—THE TEMPLE—EARLY LITERATURE.

BEFORE his death David had secured his son, Solomon, in possession of the kingship by transferring to him some of his royal functions, thus protecting him against any further pretensions of his elder brother, Adonijah, who had laid claim to the succession. David had considered himself punished by the wrath of God for his adultery with Bathsheba through the death in infancy of their first-born son, probably the Jedidiah, whose name is sometimes given to Solomon. When a second son was born, he was named, not by any compound of the name of Jah (or Jehovah), or of El, or Baal, but Solomon, apparently Shillumon, meaning compensation, or Shillomo, meaning peace. Solomon was under twenty years of age when he was crowned King by Zadok, the priest. When David died, he left a magnificent inheritance to his successor in the united kingdom of Israel from the plains of Esdraelon to the borders of Egypt, with Jerusalem as his capital. There were elements of unrest and danger, and the new state was regarded with suspicion by the King of Egypt, who still looked upon Israel as a mere vassal. It required a wise ruler to maintain this power, and a widespread tradition, continuing to the present day throughout Syria, Arabia, Chaldæa, Egypt, has endowed Solomon with wisdom and science far exceeding any other personage in history. Legend after

legend has attached itself to the name of Solomon, and in the absence of actual documentary evidence, it is impossible to sift the truth from the general mass of fable and myth. The beautiful story of Solomon's dream at Gibeon, and his prayer for wisdom rather than mere worldly power, is a tribute to the accepted tradition of Solomon's learning and political sagacity.

So far as Jerusalem itself figures in the story of Solomon certain events are recorded, which may be accepted as based on something like truth. During the first few years Solomon busied himself with securing his hold on the throne. Supported by his mother, by the high priest Zadok, by Nathan, the prophet and counsellor, and by Benaiah, the Captain of the Guard, Solomon disposed of all dangerous opponents in a very short time. Adonijah, Solomon's brother, and Joab, his cousin, the renowned general, submitted their necks to the sword of Benaiah; Abiathar, the high priest, was deprived of his office and exiled, and the hereditary priesthood was transferred from the House of Eli, who had received it in descent from Aaron, to that of Zadok, the chief of the local priesthood at Jerusalem.

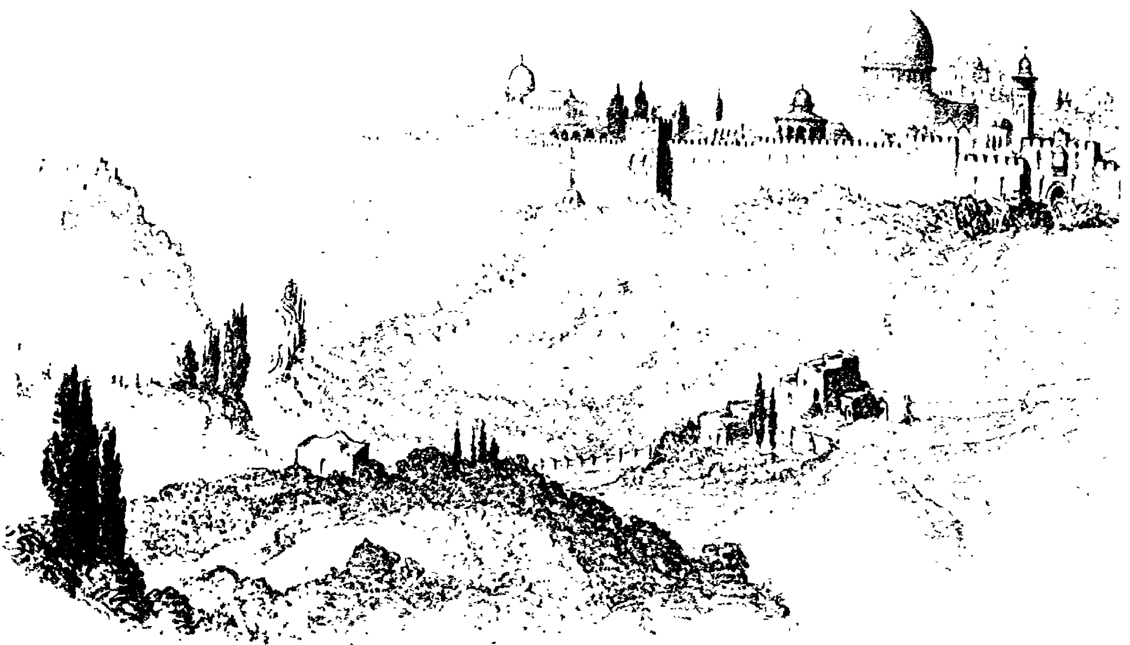
Solomon rebuilt the walls of Jerusalem, "repaired them and made them higher, with great towers upon them." His wealth and the magnificence of his household became proverbial, but it would seem from recent researches into such records of the past as exist to this day, that owing to misreadings of names and numbers in old inscriptions, clay bricks and manuscripts, errors got inserted in the historical narrative at a very early date, to which are due the exaggerated statements of

Solomon's wealth, harem, stables, and the daily expenses of the table. The real importance of Solomon's reign lies in the building of the great Temple on Mount Moriah, a historical fact, upon which the importance of Jerusalem as a capital city is based and has continued to this day.

Solomon was only carrying out a great scheme, which his father, David, had conceived but was too far advanced in age to carry out. So long as the Hebrews were a nomad race with no fixed centre of government, they cherished in some central spot the original tent, or tabernacle, which had served during their wanderings in the desert, for shelter to the Ark of the Covenant, the symbol of the worship of Jahweh. In this tent were placed under the charge of the tribe of Levi not only the Ark itself, containing the Table of the Law, which Moses had received on Mount Sinai, but the various religious objects that by custom had been invested with special ritual sanctity. For some time the tabernacle had been kept within a house of stone at Shiloh in the territory of Ephraim, but when the Israelites were badly defeated by the Philistines at Eben-ezer the Ark fell into the hands of the enemy, and later on, when restored by them, remained for several years under private care in a small town settlement, called Kirjath-jearim.

Civil and religious government were so indissolubly combined in these early days, that when under David the kingdom of Israel took a corporate and more permanent shape with its centre of activity at Jerusalem, it was very desirable to concentrate the religious government of the country in that city, as well as the military and civil governments. The Hebrew mind, although

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rigidly devoted to the worship of Jahweh (or Jehovah) as the only and invisible God, was not free from an anthropomorphic conception of the Deity, as a Person, who needed a house to dwell in and food for sustenance. Except for the prohibition against any attempt to translate the idea of the Deity into any human or other form of representation, the cult of Jahweh was on the lines of the worship of the God Ra in Egypt, or of Baal in Phœnicia, or Dagon in Philistia. Not only the Deity in person, but all of those persons who were employed in the service of the Deity required a house and shelter removed from the common people. The distinction between the priesthood and the lay population was of very early date.

When David sought to consolidate his power in Jerusalem, the most potent achievement was the concentration of the main worship of Jahweh within the precincts of the new capital city. The motive was as much political as religious, and was not calculated for popularity or immediate general acceptance. In order to secure the concentration David conceived the idea of a great Temple as the Palace of their God, in which the humble record of the wanderings of the Hebrew race in the Arabian desert should be blended with a magnificence intended to rival the greatest Palaces of religion in Egypt, Syria, or Assyria. The Temple in itself, the Palace of the God, was no new idea. When Solomon undertook the task bequeathed to him by David he had the temples in Syro-Phœnicia, in Philistia, or in Egypt, even at Shechem, to take as his guides and models.

Tradition narrates that Solomon at his accession took for one of his wives the daughter of the reigning Pharaoh

in Egypt. This has now been called into question, and the description of the Temple built by Solomon shows that the prevailing influence was that of Tyre and Syro-Phœnicia, rather than that of Egypt.

Hiram, the King of Tyre, was on good and equal terms with the new kingdom of Israel, and the assistance which he promised to David and Solomon, both in men and material, was both extensive and important. Jerusalem before the days of Solomon was a poor and unproductive place devoid of any artistic instinct, and the wealth of material employed by Solomon for the ornamentation of the Temple, had to be imported from outside, and wrought into shape by foreign craftsmen.

David had built himself a palace, but with the help of King Hiram of Tyre. Solomon set to work to build a new palace for himself as well as for his God, and also palatial buildings for various branches of his administration. The association of such buildings was usual in those days, and the king, who was paramount in civil, military, and religious government, was thus able to conduct his government in a central spot, while the ordinary inhabitants clustered at their will outside these precincts and were easily kept in control.

It would be out of place to attempt in these pages a detailed reconstruction of the Temple which was built by Solomon. No vestige of the Temple or the Palace remains above ground. Even the configuration of the hills and valleys, so strongly marked in the days of David and Solomon, has altered so much by levelling in some places and enhancing in others by intentional or casual deposits of earth and rubbish, that it is difficult to locate

the exact position, still less the exact appearance of the Temple during the short period of its existence. The partial filling up of the Tyropœan Valley has altered the aspect so much, that the relations of the Upper City, the Jebusite fortress, and the Zion of to-day with the hill known as Mount Moriah, on which the Temple was built, are quite different from what they were in the time of Solomon. The site of the Temple, in spite of repeated alteration of levels, remains about the same, and the boundaries of the present Haram-esh-Sherif, the Mohammedan sanctuary of to-day, coincide fairly well with those of the area occupied by the Temple and Palace of Solomon. The Rock, representing the original threshing-floor of Araunah purchased by King David, remains to this day one of the most sacred spots in the religious world, the Qubbet-es-Sakhra of Islam. On this rock David had placed his brazen altar of sacrifice, and a channel cut in the rock may possibly be that which was made to carry off the blood from the sacrifice on the altar. In front of and around this altar was an open and rectangular court bounded on three sides by rooms for the dwelling and service of the priesthood. In each of these three sides of the court there was a central porch and a turreted gateway, rising to a considerable height. On the further side of the altar in the middle of the fourth side rose the Temple itself with a very high turreted porch. On either side in front of this porch stood two elaborate brazen pillars, known as Jachin and Boaz wrought by a Tyrian artist. The Temple itself consisted of a rectangular building in two sections, the main section being the Palace, or Lekal, of the Lord God, in which

were kept the sacred vessels and the emblems of the Mosaic ritual. At the further end of this building was a much smaller room, the Debir, adytum, or Holy of Holies, in which in darkness rested the Ark beneath the wings of protecting Cherubim. On either side of the Temple and behind it were more rooms for the lodging and services of the Levites, who acted as a hereditary priesthood. No layman was allowed to enter the Temple itself, and only the high priest, the Kohen or Haggadol of later days, could penetrate into the Holy of Holies. In addition to the actual religious service, a large staff of officials occupied varying grades of rank, on the lines of the staff employed in a royal household. Indeed, as the royal palace itself was in immediate proximity to the Temple, the whole staff, whether spiritual or lay, was immediately under the control of the king, who united all the civil, military, religious, and judicial power in his own person.

The building and dedication of the Temple by Solomon is a landmark in chronology for Jerusalem, as it is recorded that it was begun in the fourth year of his reign and took seven years to complete. Modern calculation would place the date of completion and dedication at 1,005 years before the Birth of Jesus Christ in the Christian era, some two hundred and fifty years before the foundation of Rome, and a date at which the Hellenic race had not yet emerged from the mists of myth and romance into the clear sunshine of history.

These pages cannot contain a description of Solomon's Temple, but few readers of the description given in the Old Testament of the building and dedication of the

Temple on Mount Moriah can remain unmoved by the enthusiasm, the pride, the glory, which the Israelites felt in Jerusalem, when Solomon issued from his palace in all the panoply of religious and civil state, and offered the first sacrifice to their unseen God upon the brazen altar set upon the threshing-floor of Araunah.

Yet there were rumblings of distant thunder, although the songs of triumph and hope and the shouts of an excited multitude drowned the undercurrent of dissent and rebellion. The scanty historical details of Solomon's reign reveal him as containing in himself the highly developed qualities which the mind connects with a Pharaoh in Egypt, a tyrant in ancient Greece, or a Caliph such as Haroun-el-Reschid on the banks of the Tigris.

From a summit there must be a descent, and if Solomon may be held to have brought the kingdom of Israel, and the city of Jerusalem in particular, to the highest point of fame which had, or ever has been attained, the decline and reaction become intelligible and indeed obvious. Taxation and religion are always the danger-zones of autocratic government, and of democratic as well. Provision for the ever-increasing expenses of Solomon's household, his government, his harem, his perpetual building schemes, necessitated a division of the dominions in Palestine into twelve districts, each with a governor, whose duty it was to raise money by taxes for the royal exchequer, and by compulsory service, not only from the Israelites, but " from all the people that were left of the Amorites, Hittites, Perizzites, Hivites, and Jebusites, which were not of the children of Israel."

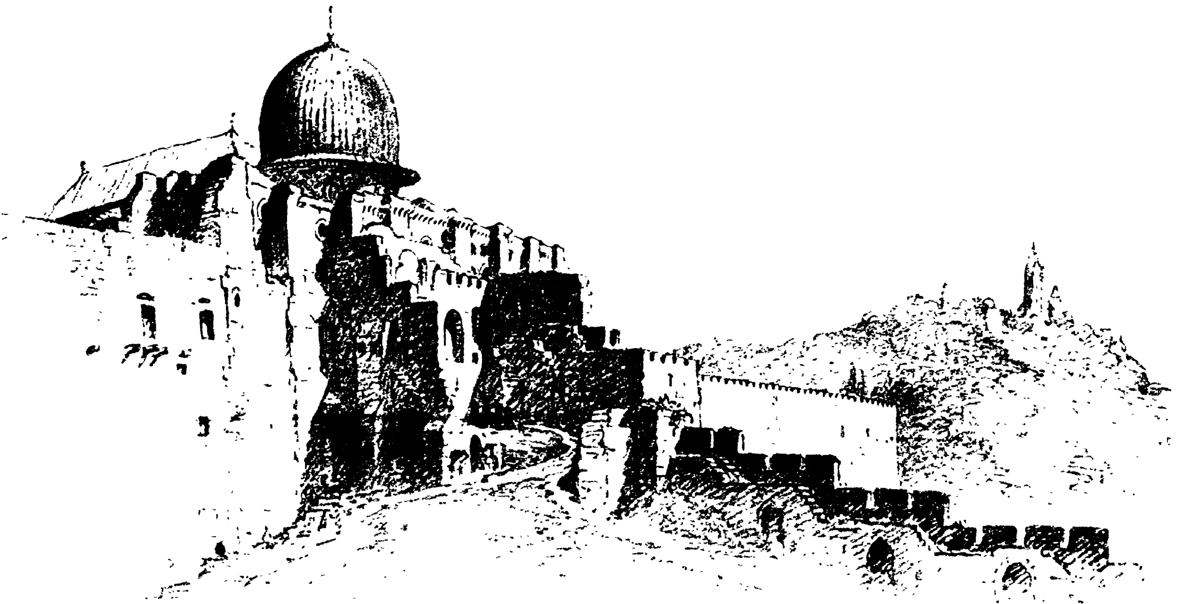
Here was the soil tilled for sedition and rebellion against the hegemony of Jerusalem. The attempt to force upon the whole country a complete religious system for the worship of Jahweh as an unseen God, concentrated in one base at Jerusalem in the new Temple on Mount Moriah, served exclusively by hereditary races of priests and ministers, failed to grip the imagination of the common people, who preferred something more palpable in itself, more personal to themselves, and more easily understood, than the elaborate musical ritual and the rivers of blood from the sacrifice, which flowed down from the altar of sacrifice over the Holy Rock down to the deep channels which led to the brook of Kedron below. From this time State religion and Popular religion found themselves in antagonism, and the remaining years of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah are marked by continuous attempts to revive the old forms of religion, on the lines of the rituals, or so-called idolatry, as practised in Moab, Philistia, or Syro-Phœnicia. Solomon's own share in any such retrograde step to polytheism is based on certain passages, which can textually be rendered as meaning something different. So can the texts which contain the allusions to his wealth, his horses and chariots, and the number of his wives and concubines. Little is known of the end of his reign. He could not have been more than sixty years of age, when he died and was buried in the City of David. The rebellion of Jeroboam had already foreshadowed the trouble to come, but Solomon was strong enough to retain his sovereignty intact, so that the trouble fell upon his successor.

In a history of Jerusalem the reign of Solomon is

and must always remain, a landmark. Even if Solomon with all his reputed wisdom was not so good a man, so good a king, so experienced a ruler as his father David, it was Solomon who established Jerusalem for all time among the greatest cities in the world. When comparing the rise of Jerusalem with that of Athens or of Rome, particular attention should be given to the importance of Jerusalem in the history of literature. It was from Jerusalem in the days of David and Solomon that there gushed forth from the seemingly arid rock those springs of poetry, in prose and verse, which have been an ever-increasing joy to the human race for some three thousand years. Even if it be conceded that the hymns, songs of joy, dirges of penitence and remorse, prayers for help expected and thankfulness for help received, which are collected together as the Psalms of David, did not take their present form until the Captivity and after, there is sufficient evidence that many of these incomparable poems date back to David's own time and may be David's own composition. The literature connected with the name of Solomon, even if Solomon's own personal share in the composition may be considered negligible, is enough to be an honour and a crown of glory to any nation. The Song of Songs, which is Solomon's, as we are told in the text, is a poem, and one which has hardly been excelled by Anacreon or Sappho, by Virgil or Catullus, by Hafiz or Firdusi, by Marlowe or Shakespeare. The Proverbs of Solomon, the Son of David, King of Israel, and the book of Ecclesiastes, the words of the preacher, the Son of David, King of Israel, are assigned by tradition to this date, and have been accepted into the

Canon of the Old Testament, while the book of Ecclesiasticus or the Wisdom of the son of Sirach, and the book of the Wisdom of Solomon, even if proved to be of later composition, have yet drawn their materials from the treasure-houses of poetry and wisdom which were stored up in the golden age of Jerusalem. All these books reach a high level of excellence, both as literary compositions, and as manuals of instruction, philosophy, and religion. Alas, of all Solomon's glory and magnificence, it is only the written word to which his name has been attached that remains! Those who visit Jerusalem may be taken below the surface of Mount Moriah of old, on which stands now the great Mohammedan sanctuary, and shown the great caverns, known as Solomon's Quarries, whence some of the stone was obtained for the building of the successive Temples above. These quarries seem to be natural caverns hollowed in the rock, rather like Kent's Cavern at Torquay in England, but there is nothing really to connect them with King Solomon more than with the Caliph Suleyman of two thousand years later. Under the platform of the Haram-esh-Sherif are a wonderful series of arcaded vaults, known as King Solomon's Stables, which may originally have formed part of the precincts of Solomon's palace or the Temple itself. The architecture, however, of the remarkable vaults is of a much later date. • At the base of the great walls of the Temple area, at the south-east corner, may be seen huge stones, said to be part of King Solomon's walls, but the foundations of these walls, which do really exist, are buried far below the hill of detritus and rubbish that has mounted up halfway and

VI



MOSQUE OF EL AKSA WITH CRUSADERS' BUILDINGS

destroyed the great height, from which those who stood in the famous Porch of King Solomon's palace must have looked down into the deep valley of the Kedron.

David and Solomon sleep somewhere beneath the hill of Ophel. Who will disturb their slumbers?

CHAPTER IV

REHOBOAM—THE REVOLT OF ISRAEL—THE KINGDOM OF JUDAH —HEZEKIAH—JOSIAH—THE BOOK OF THE LAW—NEBUCHADREZZAR CAPTURES JERUSALEM.

THE imperious rule over Israel inaugurated by Solomon came to a rapid end in about three years after his death. Damascus and Edom were already in rebellion when Solomon died, and Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, who had been entrusted by Solomon with the superintendence of the fortifications of Jerusalem, having proved himself a traitor to his king, had been banished, according to the Old Testament, to Egypt, but more probably to the Southern Negeb, to the chiefs of Edom and Misru, with whom he was connected by marriage. Solomon's death let loose tribal dissensions, in which the influence of women played a large part. Rehoboam, the acknowledged heir to the throne, was the son of a woman from Ammon; Jeroboam, rebel and rival, was himself an Ephraimite, or according to one account an Ephrathite, but allied by kin to Edom. The influence of Solomon's Egyptian wife, whether she came from Egypt itself or from the border country of Misru, was probably exercised against the son of the Ammonite queen. The tribes of Israel, who had formed the kingdom of Saul, had acquiesced unwillingly and perforce in the civil and religious hegemony of Jerusalem under David and Solomon. The groves, vineyards, watercourses, and

fertility of Ephraim were a strong counteraction to the bleak, waterless, rocky wilderness around Jerusalem. It was in religion that the first schism occurred, when the blind prophet, Ahijah, had before the death of Solomon deliberately reinstated the ancient sanctuary of Shiloh as a rival to the Temple at Jerusalem, and seduced Jeroboam from his allegiance to his king, and now with the help of another rebellious prophet, Shemaiah, set up Jeroboam as ruler and high priest over Israel in Shechem before Rehoboam had time to assert his authority. When Rehoboam came to Shechem to assert his sovereignty, the rebellion was in full activity, taxation and forced labour being put forward as the cause, and it is not surprising that the new king expressed himself in violent and angry words. Events were, however, too strong for him; his own life was in danger, so he hastened back to Jerusalem to secure his position there. From that day to this the severance between the ten tribes of Israel and the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin was and has remained complete. Israel went its own way as an independent kingdom, and its fortunes are only incidentally concerned with the future history of Jerusalem.

The short account given in the Old Testament of the revolt of Israel has branded Rehoboam as a weak, violent and idolatrous king, but probably with injustice to the king himself. The unfortunate events at Shechem were a legacy to him from Solomon, and Rehoboam seems to have done his best to face the catastrophe. At Jerusalem itself not only the Throne, but the Temple was in danger, as the national unity on which both had been founded no longer existed. Rehoboam set to work to re-establish

both government and religious worship on a firm basis, and not without success, although the people reverted in many cases to their former idolatry, following the example of their former friends in Israel. In view of the struggle which was bound to ensue between the rival kingdoms in Israel, Rehoboam strengthened the fortifications of Jerusalem, and surrounded it with a chain of garrisoned and fortified villages. Judah now stood alone, save for the small territory of Benjamin, and the inhabitants of Judæa began to assume a racial character as a separate race of their own, and to be known as Judæans or, more shortly, Jews.

The treachery of Jeroboam led to a catastrophe, in which his participation is probable, though not proved. The fall of Solomon's power laid the kingdom of Israel open to one of those recurring raids upon this territory from Egypt on the south and Assyria or Babylonia on the north. In this case it was the Egyptians under the Libyan King, Shishak I., then reigning at Bubastis, who, an usurper himself like Jeroboam, sought to establish his kingdom by a successful war, and therefore raided Palestine. Rehoboam was not strong enough to resist this invasion, so that the Egyptians entered Jerusalem, pillaged the city and the Temple, and carried away many of the treasures, especially those made of gold, with which Solomon had so ostentatiously enriched the sanctuary. Jerusalem never really recovered from this invasion. Its independence was lost, and from that day to the present Judæa has been a vassal country under some foreign suzerainty.

Rehoboam's reign of seventeen years was occupied

with this war and the struggle for supremacy with Jeroboam, for "there was war between Rehoboam and Jeroboam all their days." The Temple fortunately was not destroyed by the King of Egypt, and in spite of the reversion to idolatry in his reign, Rehoboam appears to have maintained the service of the Temple as before, and to have taken his part as High Priest over all as his father Solomon had done. His son, Abijah, was not much good, though he defeated signally the forces of Jeroboam, but of him it was said, that "for David's sake did the Lord his God give him a lamp in Jerusalem, to set up his son after him and to establish Jerusalem."

This son was Asa, who has left a name fragrant in the history of Jerusalem, for it is said that "Asa's heart was perfect with the Lord all his days." Once more does the strange and too often pernicious influence of woman make itself shown. His mother, or grandmother, Maachah, herself the descendant of David's son, Absalom, transgressed Asa's commands to such an extent as queen-mother, that "even her he removed from being queen." Still the struggle for supremacy went on between Israel, now under Baasha, and Judah under Asa. Jerusalem was seriously threatened by Baasha, in alliance with Ben-Hadad, the son of the King of Syria, but Asa took the desperate step of using what remained of the treasure in the Temple to bribe the Syrian prince to come over to the help of Judah. This was done, and the Israelite attack was checked by the intervention of the Syrians on the side of Asa. Asa also gained a triumphant victory over an invading force of Ethiopians and Egyptians in Southern Palestine near Gaza, so complete a victory

that for some centuries to come the Egyptians did not invade Palestine again. In due course, after a reign of forty years, Asa slept with his fathers and was buried in his own sepulchre, which he had made for himself in the City of David his father, and Jehoshaphat his son reigned in his stead.

The name of Jehoshaphat is still familiar in Jerusalem of to-day, through its connection with the deep valley of the Kedron, on either side of which are the cemeteries of the Jewish and Mohammedan communities, each in their separate way believing that the ultimate resurrection of the dead will take place first in the valley of Jehoshaphat. The king himself seems to have been a wise, prudent, and pious man. He reformed the Levitical ritual in the Temple, and it is under Jehoshaphat that mention is first made of the Book of the Law which was to exercise such a powerful influence over the development of the Jewish race. He also strengthened the fortifications of Judæa and reopened the water-traffic on the Gulf of Akaba at Ezion-geber which David and Solomon had inaugurated and encouraged with such success. Life in Judæa was not easy, and it required the brains of a diplomatist to settle terms with the Philistines, of a general in the army to stave off an invasion from Moab, and of a statesman to ally himself with the rival government at Samaria.

Israel had seen the usurping government of Jeroboam swept away by the usurper, Baasha, and Baasha in his turn murdered treacherously by a third usurper, Zimri, who in a very short time gave way to another usurper, Omri, Captain of the Host. Omri finding Shechem and

Tirzah, his capital cities, too much exposed to attack, established his kingdom and seat of government on the mountains of Samaria, where dwelt Omri's successor, Ahab, and his famous wife, Jezebel, the daughter of Eth-Baal, Prince and High Priest of Ashtoreth at Tyre. Israel indeed prospered, grew wealthy and waxed strong, while Jerusalem as a stronghold and political centre receded in importance. The Temple alone, as the recognised centre of the worship of the one God, Jahweh, maintained Jerusalem in its dignity as a capital city. The struggle, however, between the idolatrous ritual of the various countries and tribes in Canaan and the priestly hierarchy of the Unseen God on Mount Moriah grew in intensity, and became more threatening through the step taken by the pious King Jehoshaphat to prevent Judah from being crushed under the heel of Israel. Jehoshaphat sought to reunite the rival kingdoms, at all events in alliance, by marrying his son and destined heir, Jehoram, to Athaliah, daughter of King Ahab in Samaria and his proud Tyrian queen, Jezebel. In the whole troubled history of Palestine few figures stand out with such intensity on the canvas (so to speak) of the past as the great Tyrian queen, Jezebel, and her daughter, Athaliah. The historians of the Old Testament, basing their historical narrative on the oral or written evidence collected by the priests and scribes at Jerusalem, have not scrupled to attach every form of infamy to the names of Jezebel and her daughter. The misdeeds of princes are more carefully noted than any other details of their lives. Jezebel in her new palaces at Samaria and Jezreel does not come into the story of Jerusalem, as Athaliah

does later on. The alliance between the children of Ahab and Jehoshaphat indicates that Jehoshaphat recognised the fact that he was a vassal of the proud King of Israel, and when King Ahab prepared to go out to fight the Syrians at Ramoth-gilead, he compelled Jehoshaphat, not only to go into battle with him as an ally, but even to change personalities, thus exposing Jehoshaphat to a danger which might be destined solely for the King of Israel. But it was Jehoshaphat, in Ahab's royal robes, who returned from Ramoth-gilead to Jezreel and thence to Jerusalem, and not the proud King Ahab, who met on the battlefield the death of an ordinary soldier, and with the courage of a hero. Jehoshaphat was perhaps the best among the rulers of the kingdom of Judah. He defeated the forces of Moab, Ammon and Arabia at Engedi on the Dead Sea, and, as he kept on good terms with the Israelites, he had no further trouble in his reign, devoted himself to good and pious government, to the encouragement of maritime trade, and, according to Josephus, lived in great glory and splendour, on account of his righteousness and his piety towards God. He reigned twenty-five years and died at the age of sixty, and had a magnificent funeral in Jerusalem.

His successors were less fortunate and less creditable. Jehoram, the husband of Athaliah, was a weak, foolish prince, who undid most of the good that his father had done before him. Like most weak men, he was tyrannous and jealous, and wreaked his anger on his brethren and his father's friends. His own family fell victims to an invasion of Arabians and Philistines, and only one son



VIEW OF SILOAM

And the Valley of Jehoshaphat

was left to Jehoram and Athaliah. This son, Ahaziah, succeeded his father as king, but was entirely subject to his uncle, the King of Israel. By a piece of bad luck he was on a visit to his uncle at Jezreel, when Jehu arrived and made short work of Jehoram, the King of Israel, of Jezebel herself, and the whole family of Ahab. Ahaziah only escaped with difficulty, but received a wound of which he died a year later in Jerusalem, a wicked man and worse than his father.

Athaliah was now left alone as ruler in Jerusalem. There was no love lost between the House of Omri and the House of David, and the queen considered the death of her own son to be a good opportunity of obliterating the House of David altogether. She therefore had all her grandchildren put to death. Clever woman as Athaliah was, there was a woman cleverer still in the person of one of the late King Jehoram's daughters, Jehosheba, or Jochebed, who was married to the chief priest, Jehoiada. They found in the palace the infant son of Ahaziah, Jehoash or Joash, and hid him from the queen's fury. The child was brought up in the Temple, and Athaliah reigned for six years in Jerusalem in the belief that the House of David was wholly extinct, and that the two kingdoms of Israel and Judah were united under the rule of the House of Omri.

Then comes one of the most picturesque incidents in the story of Jerusalem. The six years had been spent by Jehoiada in the preparation of the great conspiracy against the queen. The royal guards had to be seduced, and the Levites in the Temple itself furnished with arms. On the Sabbath day, when the sovereign came into the

Temple, the little boy was brought out of the inner Temple on to the platform outside. On his head the chief priest placed a diadem, and above this was laid the manuscript of the Law, thus emphasising this coronation as the deed of the Temple and not of any secular authority. Then the child was anointed with the holy oil, and all present shouted, "Long live the King!" followed by a blast of trumpets. The sound reached Athaliah in the palace, who came forth at once into the Temple precincts, alone, trusting in the majesty of her queenly rank as a protection. There, however, stood the crowned and anointed child-king, by the side of the chief priest, Jehoiada, who ordered the queen to leave the precincts of the Temple. Friendless and alone the proud daughter of Jezebel passed out through the eastern gate down to the valley of the Kedron, where, according to Josephus, those that had the charge of her slaughter took hold of her and led her to the gate of the king's mules, and slew her there. After her death the guard went to the temple of Baal, and destroyed it, slaying Mattan, the priest of Baal, at the feet of his god. The boy-king was then brought into the palace and seated on the golden throne of the Kings of Judah—and the city was in quiet.

In this way was the House of David saved from utter destruction and the House of Omri brought to a cruel end. In Israel the descendants of Jehu, the usurper, now reigned supreme, and in Judah the House of David carried on for some time a rather troubled and varied existence. Good king was succeeded by bad king, as if black and white must succeed each other, though the shades of black and white may be due to the prejudice

of the historian. Joash, or Jehoash, the boy who had been crowned King of Judah in such picturesque circumstances, was a good king so long as the chief priest, Jehoiada, was alive, but when his protector and friend was dead, Joash relapsed into evil days, and at last committed an unheard-of crime, when he ordered his friend's son, Zechariah, Joash's own fellow-pupil and boy friend, who had succeeded his father as chief priest, to be stoned to death within the precincts of the Temple, and according to tradition, not only on the Sabbath day, but on the actual Day of Atonement. Joash "remembered not the kindness which Jehoiada his father had done to him, but slew his son." No one of the many crimes which stain the history of the Israelites either in Samaria or in Jerusalem, had so wide-reaching an effect upon the people. Those who deal in portents may see in this crime the origin of the decay and destruction in which Jerusalem was soon to be overwhelmed. The blood of Zechariah stained the pavement of the Temple indelibly, and to this day one of the great tombs in the valley of the Kedron, though obviously of later date, bears the name of Zechariah. Joash, King of Judah, was murdered, and succeeded by his son Amaziah, who, after a successful campaign against the Sodomites, was badly defeated by Joash, King of Israel, who entered Jerusalem in triumph and, after robbing all the precious objects in the Temple and the royal palace, returned scornfully to Samaria. The wretched Amaziah, murdered in his turn, was succeeded by his son, Uzziah, or Azariah, who really was a man of some note. Josephus says that Uzziah was a very good man, and by nature righteous and magnanimous,

and very laborious in taking care of the affairs of his kingdom. He gained many victories in the south down to the borders of Egypt, and reorganised his army into a good fighting force. He once more patched up the battered fortifications of Jerusalem, and did a great deal to develop husbandry and pasturage by irrigation and better cultivation of stock and produce. But Uzziah got into trouble with the priests in the Temple, as he claimed the right as the successor of Solomon to enter the Holy of Holies himself. The fact that about the same time there was an earthquake, and that he was seized by a loathsome illness, was attributed by the priests to this desecration of the Sanctuary. So Uzziah handed over the throne to his son Jotham, and retired into private life, and when he died, he was buried in his own gardens. Jotham was a fairly good king, and not defective in any virtue, and it is said that his people lived happily, but his son, Ahaz, brought ruin into Palestine. He not only reverted to idolatry of an extreme nature, but he was rash enough to encounter in battle the united forces of Pekah, the King of Israel, and Rezin, the King of Syria, at whose hands he sustained a well-merited defeat. In order to avenge this defeat, Ahaz sent to Tiglath-pileser, the King of Assyria, to come to his help, which was granted, but after Tiglath-pileser had captured Damascus, and afflicted Israel as well, he demanded payment, and the ignoble Ahaz took all the remainder of the treasures in the Temple and royal palace at Jerusalem, and laid them humbly at the feet of the conqueror. Ahaz even introduced the worship of Assyrian gods, and actually closed the doors of the Temple at Jerusalem.

The Kingdom of Judah

The appeal to Assyria was the beginning of the end. Before very long the rival kingdom of Israel was destroyed by Shalmaneser, King of Assyria; its wretched king, Hoshea, dragged a captive to Nineveh, and the ten tribes of Israel scattered over the face of the earth for two thousand years and more. Judah, or rather Jerusalem, still managed to maintain its independence, but Palestine had become once more the fighting place of the rival kingdoms of Assyria and Babylon in the north, and Egypt and Ethiopia in the south, and no one of these could afford to leave a fortified centre like Jerusalem as a danger on their flanks. Jerusalem was, however, saved for a time by the brave and prudent King Hezekiah.

A new historical source now begins to be tapped. The history of Israel and of Judah has hitherto been based upon the books of Kings and Chronicles, compiled under the direction of the priesthood at a later date. It follows that the bulk of this history deals with the Temple at Jerusalem and its vicissitudes as the citadel of the true God. Little is heard of the life in Jerusalem outside the Temple. It is now possible by studying the books of the Prophets to glean a few fragments which illustrate the city life of the period. Foremost among these is the great prophet, Isaiah, himself a scion of the House of David, who, with the lesser prophets, Joel, Micah, and Zechariah, and later on Jeremiah, revives and carries on the great literary traditions which had been inaugurated by David and Solomon. It is worth noting that in this wonderful book of prophecy, reaching at times the highest level of poesy, one of the most striking incidents, Isaiah's vision of God Himself, the King of Glory,

begins with the words: " In the year that King Uzziah died." This date, according to our modern reckoning, was 758 B.C., four years before the traditional foundation of Rome in 754 B.C. Throughout the rhapsodies of Isaiah there echoes over and over again the Messianic prophecy, foretelling the Saviour to come, though seven and a half centuries were to elapse before this prophecy was realised. The destruction of the Temple and the captivity of the Jews are also foreshadowed as immediate, together with a general disruption of empires and crash of races, such as took place some two and a half thousand years later in distracted Europe.

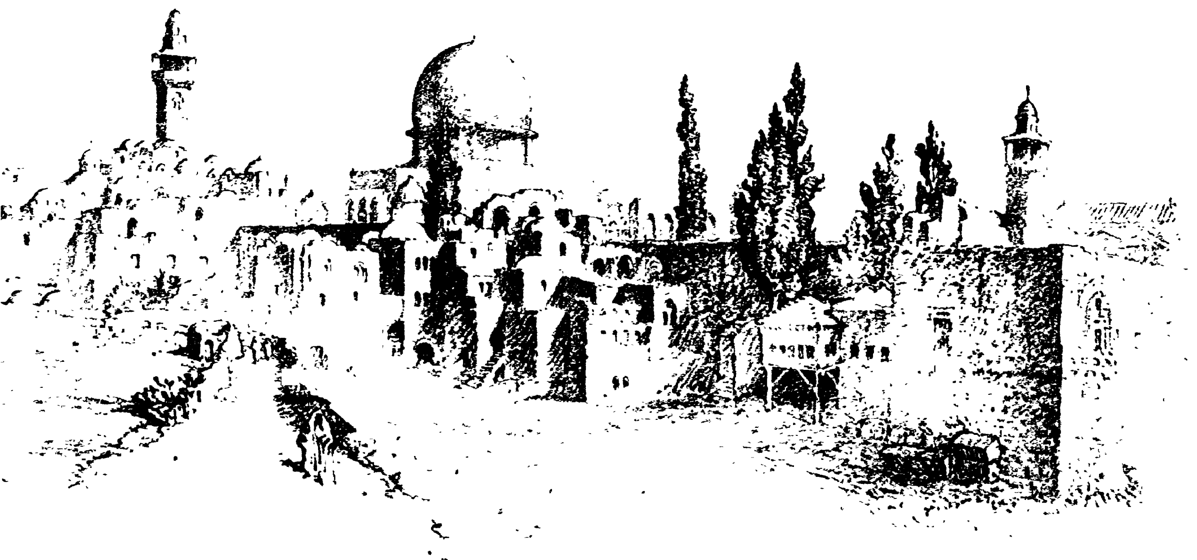
Through the outspokenness of Isaiah and other prophets one can discern something of the civil life in Jerusalem during the reign of Hezekiah. Setting aside the Temple on Mount Moriah, or the eastern hill of Jerusalem with its crowds of priests, scribes and attendants, there evidently was what would in later days in England be known as a West End, in which dwelt the wealthy lay inhabitants of Jerusalem, many, though not all of them, belonging to the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, while elsewhere dwelt the traders of many divers races, pursuing their various trades and occupations, as they do now, under whatever government might be for the time being exercising authority. Between these classes and the Jews of the Temple, there was probably little sympathy. The wealthy classes were prone to take their own line as regards religion. For many of them the worship of a Baal, or divine lord, a Molech, or divine king, and other anthropomorphic realisations of a pervading Power or First Cause required a visible and tangible representation

of the deity, to whom their prayers and ritual could be addressed. The intellect of the various races throughout Palestine and Syria was not highly trained enough to appreciate an unseen and unapproachable God, who was all the same human enough to demand such an expenditure of blood and slaughter of animals as that which they beheld periodically in the precincts of the Temple. As idolaters these people were probably not less sincere in the practice of their religion as the Jews in the Temple, but the worship of idols involved practices, chiefly borrowed from neighbouring countries, into which the worship of a One and Only Unseen God had not yet penetrated, and these practices, combined with a spread of wealth and luxury, soon led to immorality and abominations, which the Mosaic ritual and law strove manfully to suppress. Isaiah, Micah, and other prophets do not spare words in denouncing these evil practices. The women came in for strong denunciation. Isaiah's description of the daughters of Zion must have been taken from life, their tinkling ornaments about their feet, their curls, their round tires like the moon—the chains, the bracelets, the mufflers, the bonnets, and the ornaments of the legs, the head-bands and the tablets, the ear-rings and nose jewels, the changeable suits of apparel, the marbles, the wimples, the crisping pins, the glasses, the fine linen, the hoods, the vails, and all of these luxuries as denounced by Isaiah read like a description in the daily Press of London or New York in the twentieth century of our own era. All, said the prophet, was heading for destruction, and his prophecy came true.

For a time King Hezekiah seemed to be the saviour to

whom Isaiah was alluding. He set to work to reform abuses, and once more opened the doors of the Temple to a renewed and revived practice of its ritual. He reintroduced the Feast of the Passover, and no conforming Jew has ceased, when able, to keep the Passover since the days of Hezekiah. When the Assyrian army under Sennacherib invaded Palestine on its way to conquer Egypt, and threatened to take and sack Jerusalem as it passed, Hezekiah put the city in as good a state of fortification as he could, and by a skilful diversion and reorganisation of the water-supply secured safety in this respect to the besieged with a corresponding disadvantage to the besiegers. When the Assyrians actually arrived before Jerusalem, Hezekiah was wise enough to keep within the fortress and parley with the enemy from the walls. The taunts of Sennacherib's generals have been recorded for us by Isaiah, but Hezekiah would not yield, although he offered tribute from the treasures of the Temple. Here again we get a sidelight through Isaiah on the people of Jerusalem, who openly advocated surrender to the enemy, for their own personal comfort and safety. There was revelry and drunkenness, born of despair and treachery, and the word was passed round: "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die." Hezekiah, however, relied upon relief from the Kings of Egypt and Ethiopia, and was unmoved by the taunts flung at him by Rabshakeh, the Assyrian general. Hezekiah entered the Holy of Holies to beg for succour, and then happened what seemed to be a miraculous interposition of Jahweh. Sennacherib's host melted away, and the proud king himself hastened back home, only to find death awaiting

VIII.



THE 'RO 'ALLEY HOWING PART TH EW QUARTER TH ROBINSON' ARCH

him in his own palace. Only a few years later the great Assyrian Empire disappeared before the attacks of the Medes and Persians from Babylon. Hezekiah was struck down by illness, and was near death, but he recovered sufficiently to be able to go to the Temple and offer thanksgiving to the Lord God for the saving of Jerusalem. The menacing shadow of Babylon, however, began to fall upon Jerusalem, and although Hezekiah met this with courage, his successor, Manasseh, was nothing more than the beaten vassal of the Median King. Manasseh, whose mother Hephzibah is said to have been the daughter of Isaiah, was as usual a complete contrast to his father, Hezekiah. He restored idolatry on a large scale, and as a direct challenge to the Temple. He even introduced pagan rites into the Temple courts. He became a fanatic, and persecuted the prophetic order, putting many to death, including even Isaiah. Babylon then interfered, and took Manasseh away as a prisoner. When he returned from captivity he was a repentant sinner, but too late. His son, Amon, was worse than his father, and was murdered very soon, but under the new prince, Josiah, a new era seemed to be dawning.

In spite of the desecration of the Temple, the high priests and officers of the Temple survived, and the names of Hilkiah, the Chief Priest, of Shaphan, the Scribe, of Shallum, Keeper of the Royal Wardrobe, and Huldah the prophetess, his wife, appear as champions of the restoration of the Temple. Now first appears Jeremiah, the second of the so-called greater prophets.

Although Jerusalem had sunk into the position of a kingdom paying tribute to Babylon, under Josiah it

recovered some of its former dignity and importance. Not only was there the usual reaction after the misgovernment of Manasseh and Amon, but even in his youth Josiah showed no little power and skill as a governor. The most important event in his reign, and indeed in the history of Jerusalem, was the discovery in the Temple of a book, or books, containing the text of the Mosaic Law, and the revelation to the king how far the religious customs and habits in Jerusalem had departed from the simple code of law and morality which had been drawn up in the name of Moses. Learned critics differ as to the extent and contents of the manuscript thus discovered and read to the king, but it is usually accepted that this scroll, or book, contained a statement of the Mosaic Law, which was subsequently embodied in the book of Deuteronomy. The effect on the young king's mind was intense. The force of the Ten Commandments on Mount Sinai struck home with fresh-grown vigour. Hitherto the Temple in Jerusalem had competed in a prolonged struggle against idolaters, users of private altars, and a curious blend of paganism and the worship of Jahweh, which had become fashionable in Jerusalem at that date. Josiah swept all of this away, and issued a royal command that there was only One God, unseen and indivisible, and that there was only One place for the worship of God, which was the Temple in Jerusalem. Within the Temple the newly discovered Law was put into force with great rigidity, and it is from this event, the discovery of the Book of the Law, that the real history of the Jewish race, as it is known in the twentieth century of our era, may be said to date.

Nebuchadrezzar captures Jerusalem

Josiah carried his reforms beyond Jerusalem into the now derelict kingdom of Israel, and when he had purged all the country, he called the people to Jerusalem, and there celebrated the feast of unleavened bread, and that called the Passover, according to the laws and according to the custom of their forefathers. Unexpectedly his religious and social reforms were checked. The King of Egypt, Necho II., of the Saitic dynasty, invaded Palestine and Syria in order to measure swords with the newly established kingdom of Babylon under Nabopolassar, by which the old Assyrian Empire had been defeated and destroyed. Josiah, as a vassal of the King of Babylon, was forced to go out and arrest the advance of the Egyptian army. In spite of warnings from the King of Egypt that his advance was not against the kingdom of Judah, Josiah went out with his army to oppose the Egyptians, and sustained a severe defeat at Megiddo, where he received a mortal wound, of which he died after his return to Jerusalem. The untimely death of Josiah was the death-knell of the kingdom of Judah. Crushed on either side between the forces of Egypt and Babylon, Jerusalem could only occupy a dangerous and tributary position. Josiah's sons were poor creatures, and when, after the Egyptians had been badly defeated and thrust back by the Babylonians under Nebuchadrezzar, Jehoiakim, the King of Jerusalem, tried to intrigue with Necho against Nebuchadrezzar, the King of Babylon descended upon Jerusalem, slew the king, and carried off all the principal citizens into captivity at Babylon, including the prophet Ezekiel. Worse was to come, because when later on, after Nebuchadrezzar had re-

established the kingdom of Judah, and Jerusalem was once more a royal city, the King Zedekiah again rebelled and intrigued with Egypt against Babylon. Nebuchadrezzar therefore came again to besiege Jerusalem, but the city held out for eighteen months until it was reduced by famine. On this occasion Nebuchadrezzar determined to have done with Jerusalem. He sent his general Nabuzarada to Jerusalem, who utterly destroyed the Temple of Solomon, the royal palace, and the greater part of the city, carried off all the treasures of precious metal, and also the king, the high priest, and all the rulers of the Temple, with many of the inhabitants, and removed them to Babylon and other places near. Many of the Jews who remained migrated to Egypt, including the prophet Jeremiah. So fell the kingdom of Judah in the year 587 B.C. of the Christian era, four hundred and seventy and a half years after the inauguration of the Temple by Solomon.

The destruction was complete. The modern visitor to Jerusalem will search in vain for anything authentic which can be connected with the kingdom of Judah. Certain portions of the intricate system of water-supply may be dated back to the days of Hezekiah, whose name is attached without real authority to the great Birket or Reservoir within the city walls not far from the Jaffa Gate. David, Hezekiah, and Josiah were, however, the direct forerunners of the Jewish race, and from the days of Josiah, throughout the Captivity and onwards, the Jews, by their adhesion to the Book of the Law of Moses, have preserved their racial identity through countless vicissitudes.

CHAPTER V

THE RETURN FROM CAPTIVITY—ZERUBBABEL—NEHEMIAH—EZRA—REBUILDING OF THE TEMPLE—PHARISEES AND SADDUCEES—ALEXANDER THE GREAT—ADVANCE OF HELLENISM—SELEUCID DYNASTY—THE TEMPLE DESTROYED—THE HASMONEAN DYNASTY—JUDAS MACCABEUS—THE SHADOW OF ROME—POMPEIUS—HEROD THE GREAT—THE TEMPLE REBUILT.

JERUSALEM was utterly desolate. The City of David lay waste. Not only were all the public buildings destroyed and many others of importance, the treasure of the Temple, of the royal palace, the priests, and the nobles dragged out and sent to Babylon, but according to the prophet Jeremiah, even the dead in their graves were not allowed to lie in peace. "At that time, saith the Lord, they shall bring out the bones of the kings of Judah, and the bones of his princes, and the bones of the priests, and the bones of the prophets, and the bones of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, out of their graves: And they shall spread them before the sun, and the moon, and all the host of heaven, whom they have loved, and whom they have served, and after whom they have walked, and whom they have sought, and whom they worshipped; they shall not be gathered, nor be buried; they shall be for dung upon the face of the earth." This may be only the words of an unfulfilled prophecy, for at a later date the tomb of King David at all events had been preserved

intact. Nebuchadrezzar seems to have been a wise and tolerant ruler, for the harsh treatment meted out to Jerusalem was due to the treachery of her king and his ministers, and it was too dangerous for the King of Babylon to have a strong fortified outpost like Jerusalem on his frontier as a potential ally of the ever-threatening invaders from Egypt. An attempt to set up a temporary government on the heights of Mizpah near Jerusalem under Gedaliah, one of the most highly esteemed persons in the government of Jerusalem, was thwarted and finally crushed by the internecine jealousies of neighbouring tribes. Judah never shared quite the same fate as Israel, a hundred years or more before, throughout which the Israelite Hebrews had been dispersed beyond recall by the Assyrians under Shalmaneser and so effectually that they have never recovered their identity up to the present day. Jerusalem remained in this sad state for about seventy years without king or Temple, but was not re-peopled as was Samaria by foreign colonists from Media: Jerusalem retained its identity throughout, even when in ruins.

Some seventy years later the kingdom of Persia came into the hands of Cyrus, the son of Astyages, who by a series of conquests established an Empire over the whole of Western Asia. In the person of Cyrus the Messianic prophecies of Isaiah seemed to be realised, although his treatment of Jerusalem seems to have been only part of a wise and conciliatory policy, which aimed at restoring throughout his vast Empire the various scattered nationalities, and re-establishing in many places the former local and popular religion. The Jews, who were in

captivity in Babylonia, had gained a high position there, and thus were the natural recipients of his favour. Impressed by their devotion to their religion, and perhaps also by the inspiring literature of their poets and their prophets, Cyrus called for the most eminent Jews that were in Babylon, and said that he gave them leave to go back to their own country, and to rebuild their city, Jerusalem, and the Temple of Jahweh. Many of the wealthier Jews did not wish to leave Babylonia, but some forty-two thousand were ready to return. In charge of this caravan of returning exiles Cyrus placed his treasurer Mithridates, and the governor of the Jews in Babylon, Zorobabel, or Zerubbabel. According to later tradition this officer, whose name is a Persian title, meaning "begotten in Babylon," was a near relative of Jehoiachin, King of Judah, and therefore a lineal representative of the House of David, and under the title of Sheshbazzar or prince, he was entrusted with this mission to Jerusalem together with the care of the sacred vessels which Cyrus wished returned to the Temple, in order to restore the worship of Jahweh. Cyrus had obviously no idea of restoring the kingdom of Judah as a political entity, nor had his successor, Darius. Cyrus himself only needed tribute and military service, and probably gave the matter but little thought after he had once issued his proclamation to restore the Temple and the worship of Jahweh. Anyhow, his death in battle occurred unexpectedly, and his son, Cambyses, did not trouble himself about Jerusalem. Zerubbabel and his friends began to build the new Temple on an even larger scale than that of Solomon, but their work was interrupted by the hostility of the Samaritans,

who were a Median or Cuthean race imported by Shalmaneser into Samaria. The Samaritans accused Zerubbabel and the Jews of fortifying Jerusalem with a hostile intent and building a Temple as strong as a citadel. They appealed to King Darius, who gave orders nevertheless to carry out the original instructions given by Cyrus. The new Temple was built in seven years, but the Samaritans continued to do all they could to molest and injure the Jews. Zerubbabel and others went to Babylon to ask for protection, and as nothing more is heard of Zerubbabel, it may be presumed that he did not return. The Persian monarchs were not unfriendly to the Jews, and when the difficulties and unhappy state of affairs which prevailed at Jerusalem was made known to them, Artaxerxes sent a learned priest, named Ezra, from Babylon to restore the worship in the House of God at Jerusalem, establish order and justice in Judæa, and some kind of civil and religious government over the scattered Israelites in Palestine, who had departed so much from the traditional laws of Moses, especially by intermarriages with the heathen, not only in Samaria, but in Galilee, which was also inhabited by a heathen population. Ezra was the first of the great Scribes, or legal interpreters of the written Law, and it is to Ezra that tradition ascribes the establishment of the Canon of Scripture, the Law, the Prophets, and the Holy Books, the compilation of the historical books, and the establishment of synagogues for the public exposition of the Law. These achievements, which date from this period, had the most lasting effect upon the history of Jerusalem. Ezra's work was chiefly concerned with the reading and interpretation



DAVID STREET, WITH HOUSES OF THE SARACENIC PERIOD

of the Law of Moses, and he does not appear to have had a share in the wider and more political enterprise which is connected with the name of Nehemiah, who is perhaps the most attractive figure in the history of Jerusalem. Nehemiah was the cupbearer of King Artaxerxes at Susa. A Jew by birth, whose fathers came from Jerusalem, he was distressed by the sad accounts which reached Persia from Jerusalem and Judæa. He obtained leave from Artaxerxes to go on a mission to Jerusalem, and was appointed Tirshatha, or Governor, of Judæa. On arriving in Jerusalem he set to work to rebuild the walls of the city and lay the foundations of a future independence. If Jerusalem could once more be made secure, both national and religious life could be reconstituted. In spite of the most bitter opposition from the neighbouring princes, Sanballat at Samaria, and Tobiah at Ammon, who accused Nehemiah of treason to the King of Persia, Nehemiah proceeded with his work of building and archæological research, and his name is associated with that of Ezra in the building up of both the national spirit and the national religion of that remarkable race, who since their days have been known throughout the civilised world as the Jews. This is not a history of the Jewish nation, but of the city of Jerusalem, so that it is not possible to do more than allude to the importance of Nehemiah, the Tirshatha, or Pacha, of Jerusalem, and Ezra, the Scribe, in the history of the world. Indeed, it is well worth while for any person studying the history of Jerusalem to take the book of Nehemiah in his hand, and walk round the city walls as they are in the twentieth century after Christ. Little remains of the Jerusalem

of Nehemiah, but all the same he still can act as a guide, as one traces the progress of his walls and the names and number of his gates. It is through the book of Nehemiah, and that of Ezra, and some of the contemporary prophets, that it is possible to get some sidelights on the history of the actual inhabitants of Jerusalem after the return from captivity, on their social habits, as well as their national spirit. In these books one can learn something about the hereditary crafts practised in Jerusalem, about the laws of marriage and of family clanship, of the abuses of slavery and usury, and of the oppressive taxes and burdens upon the poor, quite apart from the liturgical part dealing with the services in the Temple and the interpretation of the Mosaic Law. From this period, about 445 B.C., emerge those characteristics of the Jewish race which have stood by them unimpaired by suffering by exile, or by insult, and which, if now as then they are repellent rather than conciliatory, and productive of acute antagonism, have maintained the indomitable vitality of the Jewish nation for the last two thousand years.

The new state of Judæa, which grew up under the new Jewish government, did not in any way correspond to the territory governed by David and Solomon, and was even less in extent than the kingdom of Judæa before the Captivity. It comprised only the country which extended east and west from the Jordan and the Dead Sea to the Mediterranean at Jaffa, and by a historical coincidence corresponded almost exactly to the limited territory controlled by the District Governor of Judæa as part of the Mandate entrusted to the British Government in A.D. 1922. No part of Northern

Palestine was included, and most of it, Galilee, Samaria, Phœnicia, Philistia, was hostile to the government at Jerusalem. Little also of the Negeb, or Southern Palestine, was controlled by Jerusalem; the Nabatæans held Petra, and the Idumæans, or Edomites, held Hebron, the former capital of David and the burying-place of Abraham. The royal House of David was extinct with Zerubbabel, at all events so far as any revival of the kingdom seemed to be possible. The new government was concentrated in the Temple on the east hill of Jerusalem, and came into the hands of a hereditary high priesthood, an aristocracy showing but scant sympathy with the struggling mass of humanity. All government was based upon the Law, as written in the Tora, drawn up and written by Ezra and the Scribes, who succeeded him. The Scribes, or lawyers, now began to be a governing power in Jerusalem, and were themselves divided into two classes, those who taught and expounded the Law, and those who carried it into practice and execution.

In this new priestly community divisions were bound to occur, chiefly of a social character, which resulted by degrees in the growth of the Pharisees, those who segregated themselves from the common people on the score of the personal and ritual cleanliness enjoined by the Tora; who stood by the letter of the Law, and who preferred to strengthen and extend its influence rather than relax anything in order to conciliate the interests of the people. As a counterpoise to the Pharisees there grew up the Sadducees, apparently the exclusive clan of the priesthood, which claimed descent from Zadok, the chief priest, who had crowned Solomon, and perhaps from

Melchizedek, as against the priestly clan, which traced its descent to Aaron and the House of Eli. The Sadducees comprised many of the wealthier inhabitants of Judæa, and were even more aristocratic in their social attitude than the Pharisees. They adhered rigidly to the Mosaic Law and ritual, and rejected all the Messianic aspirations of the Prophets. In the course of the next two hundred years there grew up in the government of Jerusalem a Senate, an assembly of elders, known as the Synedrion, or Sanhedrim, and based on the constitution of western powers, especially Greece, which were now beginning to make themselves felt. By degrees the Sanhedrim became the controlling power in the government at Jerusalem.

Meanwhile great changes were taking place in the world all round about Palestine and Jerusalem. One by one the great Empires of the East crumbled and fell into ruins. Assyria, Chaldæa, Media, Persia and Egypt in turn were reduced from widespread imperial rule to their own boundaries and political insignificance. In the West there had grown up that wonderful national expansion, known as Greece, or Hellas, followed in due course by that of Rome. The control of world-politics was shifted first to Athens and then to Rome. This is not the place in which to trace the rise of the Hellenic kingdom or the Roman Empire, or to estimate the debt owed by posterity to the Greeks in the domains of philosophy, poetry, drama, and the arts. The commerce which now spread over the coasts of Ionia and Syria brought with it a wave of Hellenic thought and Hellenic customs and habits, blending by degrees with the mysticism of Asia and of

Persia, but it was a long time before this wave of influence reached the fenced-in territory of Judæa. The actual infiltration of Hellenism throughout the East is connected with the romantic and legendary figure of Alexander the Great, the mighty Empire-maker, whose ambition it was to unite the eastern and western sections of the civilised world as then known into one imperial whole, like Napoleon Bonaparte in later days. In 332 B.C. Alexander, after defeating the Persians at the Granicus and at Issus, came south to Syria and Phœnicia, took Damascus and sacked Tyre in the north and Gaza in the south, and then proceeded on to Egypt, where his name remains immortal in the city of Alexandria. The picturesque story, narrated by Josephus, how Alexander turned aside from his progress through Palestine to visit and punish Jerusalem, has been doubted, because it is not recorded by any other historian, and the dates hardly give time enough for the visit. The whole story, however, fits in so well with what is known of Alexander's character, his love of adventure and sight-seeing, and the mysticism in his nature, that it cannot be dismissed on such matter-of-fact grounds. Quite apart from any provocation given by the Jews to the invaders of Palestine, Alexander himself would hardly have missed intentionally the opportunity of seeing for himself the famous Temple at Jerusalem, as well as annexing this important fortress as one of the outposts of his Empire. It is possible that Jewish tradition may have embroidered and enlarged the tale, how the great conqueror became suddenly converted, as it were, to the truth and majesty of the Jewish religion, and with becoming reverence offered sacrifices himself

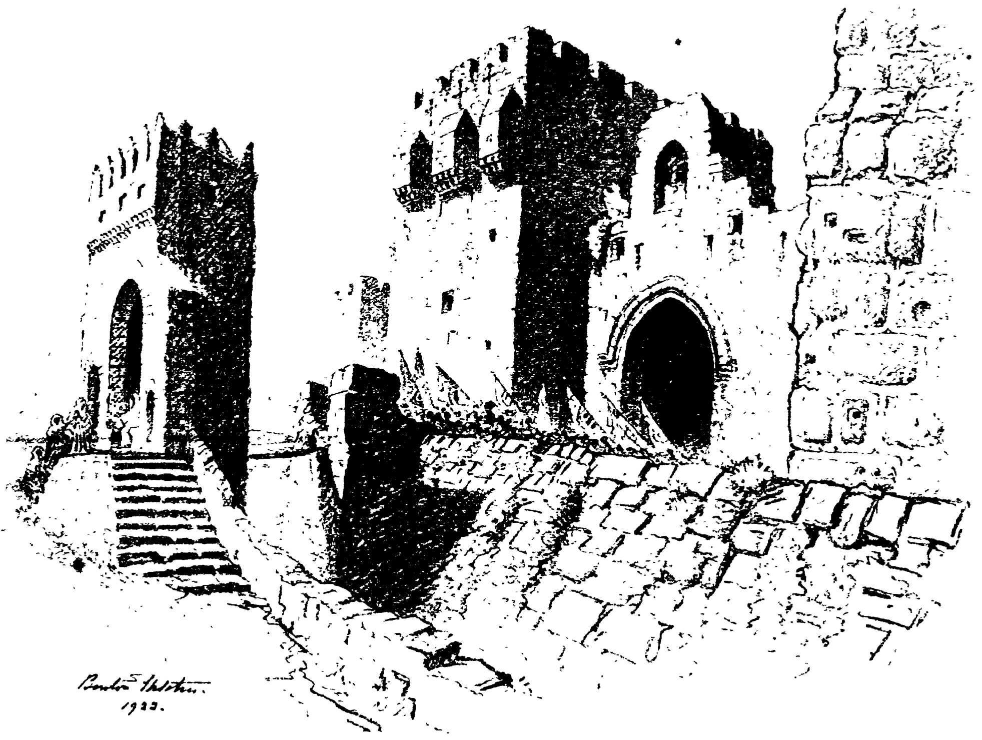
in the Temple, and promised them help and justice in the future. There was nothing much in this, because Alexander offered sacrifices to Apis in Egypt and to Baal in Babylon. There was a good reason for trying to prove that Alexander was more favourable to Jerusalem than he was to Samaria. Whether Alexander did visit Jerusalem, or not, any hopes raised by his friendship for the Jews were destroyed by his untimely death a few years later at Babylon, and the division of the Empire among his generals. This latter event was more far-reaching in its effects upon Jerusalem than the visit of the great Alexander in person. Alexander's death closed the glorious story of Ancient Greece.

With the break-up of Alexander's Empire and its division amongst his generals and successors, the *Diadochi*, the city of Jerusalem was not at first concerned. The dynasties founded by Ptolemy Soter in Egypt, by Antigonus in Phrygia, and by Perdiccas and Seleucus in Syria, each attained force and dimensions, which were bound to come into collision sooner or later. Alexander, though a Macedonian by birth, was by training a Greek, and a Greek who could hold his own with any of his contemporaries. Ptolemy, Antigonus and Seleucus were Macedonians, born of the rough shepherd races in the Balkans, and though Greek culture flourished and was highly developed under the sway of their dynasties, the ruling princes showed in themselves at first little of the refinement connected with the Hellenic name. Palestine once more became the channel through which armies marched from north to south, or south to north, to fight for supremacy in the East. Jerusalem, walled in on its rocky heights,

with nothing beyond it but the Jordan and the Dead Sea, and the Transjordanic tribes, which now knew not any government but their own, became of little importance from a strategic point of view. Under its ecclesiastical government Judæa could no longer take an offensive, and had to be content to maintain a kind of independence by paying tribute to a Ptolemy or an Antiochus as the case might be. Secure from actual attack, the Jews began to amass wealth, especially under the Ptolemies, and those who had not returned but remained dispersed in Babylonia and elsewhere, began to disperse of their own accord and extend the Jewish nation far beyond its own bounds within the narrow confines of Judæa. Cities sprang up in Syria, such as Antioch, and in Egypt, such as Alexandria, whose importance began to exceed that of Jerusalem, and indeed to contain a Jewish population as large as that of their metropolis. The synagogue and the ghetto began to make themselves conspicuous in these cities. The trouble which ensued was not political, and could scarcely be called religious. It was mainly social.

The advance of Hellenism began to make itself felt in Palestine, and at last in Jerusalem. With the expansion of commerce came a new development of language. In Syria the prevailing vernacular language was Aramaic, the origin of which is obscure, but it became first the official language of the countries between the Euphrates and the Mediterranean, and then the common language of the people. This spread to Palestine, in which it became an universal language, though blended with local dialects, and even with Hebrew. The old Hebrew

language became more and more confined to Jerusalem, to the ritual of the Temple, the text and interpretation of the Law, and other objects fostered by the conservative tendencies of the hierarchy. Under the Ptolemies in Egypt, and the Seleucids in Syria, Greek began to be the language of polite culture and society. Even the Pentateuch and the Old Testament owe their predominant place in the literary history of the world to the fact that they were translated into Greek at Alexandria and issued in the form known as the Septuagint, whereby they began to be known and appreciated throughout the world, in which the knowledge of Hebrew and even of Aramaic was restricted. The Hellenisation of the East was not confined to mere spoken and written language; it brought with it a study of humanity as contrasted with the cult of the divine; a physical, as well as religious or mental training; together with ideas of hygiene and sanitation, of luxury and comfort, which were unknown in the arid surroundings of Jerusalem, as well as repugnant to many of the established traditions of the Mosaic Law. The hierarchy at Jerusalem was as antagonistic to reforms of this sort, as the Brahmins in India at the present day. It was as hostile to the Greek invasion of Ptolemy from Egypt, who occupied Jerusalem in 301 B.C., as it was to Antiochus the Great from Syria, who occupied the city in 218 B.C., although twenty years later the Jews welcomed Antiochus as a conqueror in Jerusalem, after he had defeated the Ptolemy of the time at Banias. Two characteristics governed the Jewish nation, then as they do now—a rigid adherence to the commandments of the Law, and the steady accumulation of wealth. The former



THE CITADEL, JERUSALEM

laid the city open to the invader more than once, as the priesthood would not allow any defence of the city upon the Sabbath day, a religious observance not respected by an assailant, to whom time and money were of more concern. The second made Jerusalem a tempting source of income for raiding armies from any side, which would account for the city being so often sacked and despoiled of its riches. The Seleucid dynasty had no scruple in exacting this price, and on one occasion their envoy, Heliodorus, insisted on entering the innermost shrine of the Temple himself in order to see what wealth was stored there, only to be ignominiously expelled by a divine defender of the sanctuary. At last Antiochus, known as Epiphanes, a not unattractive harum-scarum ruler, with plenty of brains and a disregard for anything or anybody who did not conform to his views, tried to force upon the recalcitrant Jews a form of Hellenisation, which, if successful, might have changed the history of the world. Among other deeds he had built a large gymnasium in the Tyropœan Valley, known as the Xystos, under the very walls of the Temple. Here the youth of Jerusalem and the neighbourhood disported themselves in the games introduced from Greece, and in the classic costume, or absence of costume, which was habitual in the palæstra or the stadium. The young Jew, in spite of his teaching, began to join in these games. The foreigners even introduced a hat instead of the turban or veil, which are more suitable for the East. The Jews of the Temple beheld these innovations with horror, as they outraged in some particulars the Tora. A new sect was formed among them, known as the Hassidim (Khasidim)

or Assidæans, in order to support with all their might the holy ritual for the government of daily life, as laid down in the Tora as the laws of the only God, Jahweh, laws issued from the Temple by the high priest and political governor, Simeon. Their opposition to the Seleucid innovations was religious and not political, and when the Jewish religion ceased to be in danger from the Greek attacks, the Hassidim became merged in the better known sect of the Pharisees. They could not, however, discern that beyond the cheerless and sombre domain of the Law, there was a new world springing up, with all the charm and exhilaration of youth, and the enterprise and audacity of adolescence. Up to this date the Jew had believed that all knowledge, all philosophy, all wisdom was vested by Jahweh in the Jewish race, but by degrees the intellectual influence of Greece began to make itself felt.

Jason, the high priest, was on good terms with Antiochus and encouraged the Greek innovation, but Menelaus, a brother of the former high priest, and a leader of the Hassidim, supplanted Jason by treachery, not only in Jerusalem itself, but at Antioch with the king, whose support he gained. Now began a series of bloody combats between rival branches of the hereditary high priesthood, which are a blot on the history of Jerusalem for the next two hundred years. Jason, driven out of Jerusalem, returned in force, and captured the Temple and its surroundings, while Menelaus held the Upper City, or Akra, whence he appealed for help to Antiochus. It was a dangerous step to take, because Antiochus was a ruler who could tolerate any form of homage and submission, but would not submit to any rebellion against

his authority. Antiochus in 170 B.C. was traversing Palestine on one of the ever recurring wars between Egypt and Syria. Having failed in his attack on Egypt, Antiochus vented his anger upon the unfortunate city of Jerusalem. Jason was soon driven out, and many of the inhabitants slaughtered, and Menelaus, who welcomed the invader, himself conducted the king to the Temple, where Antiochus entered the sanctuary and carried off under his own direction the sacred treasure that he found therein. Worse was to come! With an appetite for plunder and conquest, Antiochus two years later sent his army under Apollonius again to Jerusalem. After a siege full of hideous details the Syrians entered Jerusalem on the Sabbath and put most of the citizens to the sword. The Jewish ritual was crushed out and made illegal, the sanctuaries desecrated, and an altar to the Olympian Zeus replaced the Altar of Burnt Offering. The Temple was stripped of its ornaments and treasures and further desecrated by riotous orgies. Such was the result achieved by the treacherous rivalry of high priests.

The true spirit of the Jewish race was, however, by no means tamed. The destruction and desecration of the Holy City gave it new life. Jerusalem itself was in ruins. The Temple was laid waste like a desert; the town where the people lived and traded had been sacked, burnt, and wrecked, and the Akra, or Upper City, was a fortress with a garrison of foreign soldiers. Outside Jerusalem, at a place called Modin, there lived a Jewish exile, named Mattathias, of a family known as that of Hashmon, or the Hasmonean. He had five sons, John, Simon, Judas, Eleazar, and Jonathan. Mattathias and his sons

refused to obey the commands of Antiochus and raised the flag of rebellion. The Syrian generals wreaked their anger on the unfortunate refugees, taking advantage again of the Sabbath day, but Mattathias remained undefeated and defiant, and even decided that, when necessary for their lives, Jews must be ready to fight on a Sabbath day. The strict observance of the Law in this respect had brought disaster to the Jews, and, even if this obedience may be admired it must be said, as in later days, " C'est magnifique, mais ce n'est pas la Guerre."

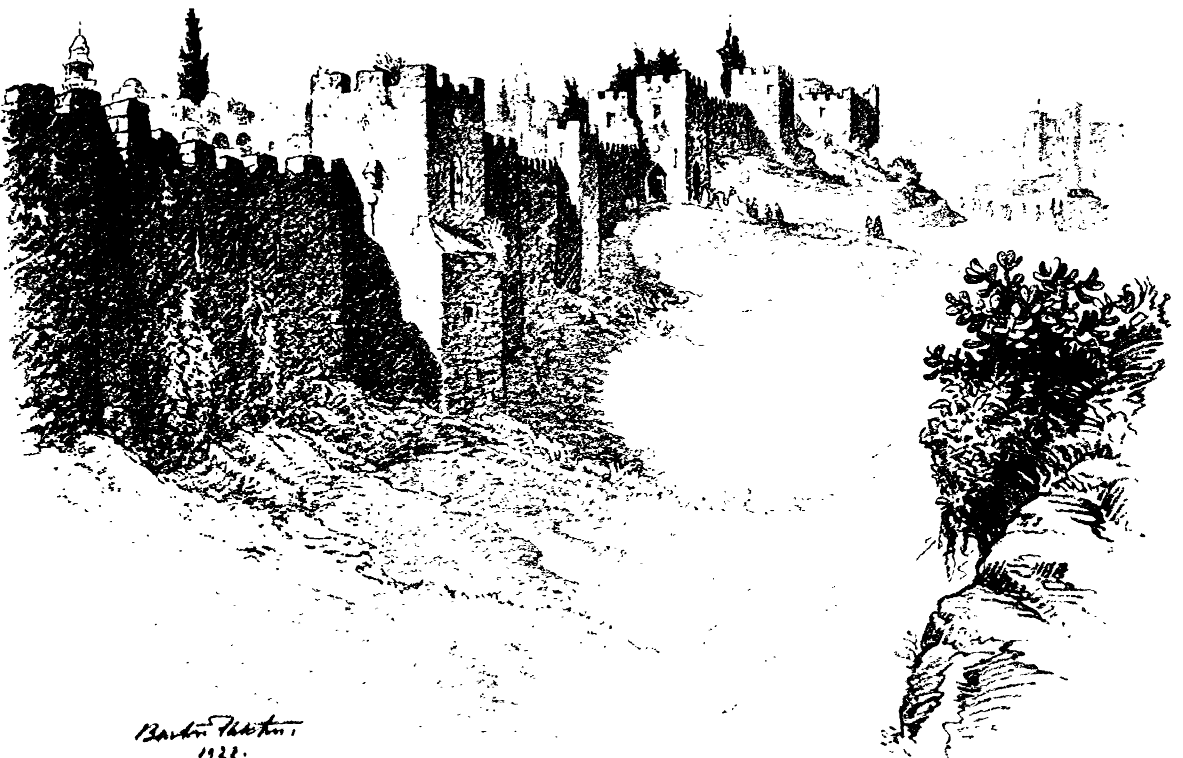
Judas, the third son, was a man of unusual courage and ability, and from his prowess was surnamed the Maccabee, or the Hammer. Under his skilful generalship the Seleucid forces were defeated and overthrown in repeated engagements in Judæa, until the road was open to the desolate and distracted city of Jerusalem, where Judas the Maccabee had the satisfaction and the glory of once more kindling the fires of sacrifice in the Temple and renewing the worship of Jahweh with a solemn feast of Dedication, 164 B.C. Under Judas and his brethren the Jews once more became a governing race in Palestine, and not only gained repeated successes in the field, but repelled with success another siege of Jerusalem. A new dynasty was now installed in power in Jerusalem, which regained national independence and maintained it for about one hundred years. Internal dissensions, however, existed between the Maccabean rulers and the Hassidim, especially in Jerusalem itself, whence Judas and his brethren were expelled for some years. Eleazar, the fourth son, met a heroic death in the battle at Beth-Sur, crushed by the fall of an elephant, which he had wounded

from below. Judas the Maccabee, who in later life was re-established as high priest and governor in Jerusalem, at last fell himself in battle outside the city. According to Josephus, "not being able to fly, but encompassed round about with enemies, he stood still, and he and those that were with him fought; when he had slain a great many of those that came against him, he at last was himself wounded, and fell, and gave up the ghost, and died in a way like to his former famous actions." Posterity has recognised Judas Maccabeus as a true hero; possibly even his enemies in Jerusalem, the Hassidim, did the same. The government remained in the hands of the surviving brothers, Simon and Jonathan, under whom as successive high priests and governors Jerusalem regained its rank as a free and capital city, honoured and respected by the rulers in Antioch and Egypt. Jonathan, perhaps, was of more political importance than his soldier-brother, Judas, or his elder brother, Simon, who, when Jonathan was slain by treachery, became sole Governor of Judæa. It was Simon who finally drove out the Seleucid garrison from the citadel in the Akra, and in order to make the Temple on the eastern hill at Jerusalem the principal site in the city, had the citadel demolished and its site actually reduced to a level below that of the Temple. Simon was acclaimed as "Simon the benefactor and ethnarch of the Jews," but like his brother, Jonathan, he fell a victim to political intrigue and was foully murdered by his own son-in-law. His son, Johannes Hyrcanus, escaped to carry on the Hasmonean dynasty. Under Hyrcanus, who ruled as high priest and governor at Jerusalem for thirty-one years, the Jewish race

prospered exceedingly and attained great wealth. John Hyrcanus was a wise ruler, a skilful diplomatist, a brave warrior, and a great builder and engineer. Jerusalem once more became a noble city. It consisted mainly of the Temple area on the eastern hill; the lower hill of Ophel, once the City of David, and perhaps the Akra of former days, whose height had been reduced under Simon the Maccabean; the Upper City, which was probably the fortress and citadel from the days of the Jebusites onwards; and on the north the busy and crowded town of the common people, the centre of commerce and industry. On the western hill in the Upper City John Hyrcanus built a fortified palace for the Hasmonean dynasty. At the northern corner of the Temple area he built a military fortress, known as the Baris, or Castle, subsequently enlarged by Herod as Antonia. The Hasmonean palace was connected with the Temple area by a bridge across the Tyropœan Valley. To pay the cost of these buildings John Hyrcanus opened the tomb of David, and withdrew part of the treasure stored therein, from which it would appear that the tomb of David, and perhaps that of Solomon, had escaped the ravages of the various captors of Jerusalem. It is probable that the great tombs in the Kedron Valley, known popularly as the tombs of Absalom and Zechariah, may be shown to belong to the Hasmonean period. It will probably also be shown that this administrator reformed the whole system of water-supply within the walls of Jerusalem. With John Hyrcanus ended the second and last golden age in the history of Jerusalem. Under the Hasmonean high-priest rule the Jews had grown so prosperous and

wealthy, and had gained so many victories over their powerful rivals and enemies, that they ceased to look upon Jahweh as their all-powerful and only King, and sought to raise themselves once more to an earthly kingdom, as in the days of David and Solomon. John Hyrcanus left among others three sons. The Hellenisation of Judæa is shown by the fact that these three sons dropped their Jewish names, and called themselves Aristobulus, Antigonus, and Alexander. The eldest, Aristobulus, formerly Judas, crowned himself King of the Jews, but during a short reign did nothing of note, except starving his mother to death in prison and murdering his next brother, Antigonus, through jealousy. Murder now dogs the footsteps of the Hasmonean race. The kingdom fell into the unworthy hands of the youngest brother, Alexander, known as Jannæus, under whom Jerusalem became the scene of continuous and sanguinary civil warfare. The influence of women over weak and suspicious sovereigns began once more to exercise a baneful power in the government. The cleavage between the Hassidim, who might now be called the Pharisee party, and the Hasmoneans, who were allied with the Sadducees, which had begun even in the glorious days of Judas Maccabeus, became again acute, and the streets of Jerusalem were the scene of many savage conflicts. The hierocratic principles of government hitherto in practice were directly challenged by the secularisation of this government into a mere worldly kingdom. It is a black page in Jewish history, and the less said about it the better. Alexandra, the wife of the wretched Alexander Jannæus, assumed the title of Queen of the Jews, and was a wiser

and better ruler than her husband or her sons. The latter, a second Hyrcanus, and a second Aristobulus, were not only at war with each other, but did not scruple on either side to introduce a dangerous ally to enforce their claim. While Hyrcanus invoked and obtained the aid of the King of Arabia, Aretas, Aristobulus appealed in his turn to the ever advancing power of Rome, and by so doing sealed the fate of the Jewish kingdom. Rome now became the arbiter of its fate. The famous general, Pompeius, had been sent to Asia to settle affairs in Syria, and give the death-stroke to the fast waning Seleucid dynasty, which now perished. Syria and Phœnicia became Roman provinces; Judæa was bound to follow. Aristobulus and the Pharisees rashly appealed to Pompeius for help against Hyrcanus and the Arabian invasion. They did not know the man nor the power of Rome. Pompeius came not as a friend, but as a conqueror, swept aside the feeble resistance of the Jews, besieged Jerusalem, took it at last once more on the Sabbath day, and put many of its inhabitants, including priests, to the sword. More than that, he entered the Holy of Holies, but offered no insult to the God on whose sanctuary he had intruded. Tacitus, the historian, writes that Pompeius "nulla intus deum effigie, vacuam sedem, inania, arcana." Aristobulus and his sons were taken captive to Rome to grace the Roman general's triumph. The Jewish kingdom was abolished, but Hyrcanus was allowed to govern Judæa once more as high priest, with the title of Ethnarch. The power of the Hasmonean dynasty was, however, broken, and a new rival made himself felt. This was Antipater from Idumæa in the south,



THE NORTH WALL, JERUSALEM, WITH HEROD'S GATE

who became a useful and powerful servant to Rome. The civil war at Rome, which resulted in the death of Pompeius and the autocracy of Julius Cæsar, seemed to offer new hopes for the Jews and Jerusalem, as Cæsar showed them marked favour. Although Antipater was appointed Procurator of Judæa, Hyrcanus was still permitted to govern as ethnarch. The declining years of the Hasmonean dynasty were overshadowed by the rise of Antipater's famous son, Herod, at the outset only the Governor of Galilee, while his brother, Phasael, was Governor of Jerusalem. At first the Hasmoneans under Antigonus, with the help of a strong Parthian army, were champions of the popular cause against the new Idumæan governors, and gained power in Jerusalem defending Hyrcanus and killing Phasael. Herod, however, escaped and took refuge in Rome. Julius Cæsar was no more, and Herod sought the friendship of Marcus Antonius, and the young Octavianus, afterwards the Emperor Augustus, through whom he was invested with the title of "King of the Jews." During all this period the prosperity of the Jews increased so much that they became notorious. As each faithful Jew, no matter where he was living, in Judæa or outside, had to send a contribution to the expenses of the Temple at Jerusalem, great treasure was amassed therein, which proved a source of danger in itself. Crassus, the famous Roman general, on his campaign against the Parthians, went out of his way to Jerusalem in order to rob the Temple of much gold and many other treasures. The suzerainty of Rome was accepted by all parties at Jerusalem. Antipater and his son Herod availed themselves freely of their friendship

with Rome, and many Jews accepted service in the Roman army. As the Roman Empire extended its boundaries, the dispersion of the Jews continued under the control or protection of Rome.

Except for the authority of the Sanhedrim in Jerusalem itself, the government had passed from the descendants of Jacob into the hands of a descendant of Esau, Herod, the Idumæan. It is difficult within a limited space to deal with the character and achievements of this extraordinarily intelligent man. Provided that the element of goodness be not included in the title of "The Great," Herod may be said to have fairly earned this title, by which he is known to posterity. So far as Jerusalem itself is concerned, the early career of Herod is outside its story. As Governor of Galilee he gained an evil name among the Jews for the severity, and the success, with which he suppressed the unrest among the various Jewish settlements which had grown up in that province under the Hasmonean rule. So long as the Hasmonean dynasty was in power, there was no place for Herod in Jerusalem or Judæa, but his ambitions found a fruitful soil in the imperial city of Rome. Here he encountered a boon companion in adventure, Marcus Antonius, whose acquaintance he had made in Syria after the battle of Philippi, on which occasion Antony conferred on Herod and his brother Phasael the title of tetrarchs. Both Antony and Octavian marked down Herod as a man to be used for their own purpose, especially for the supply of money. Antony, who had been friends with Herod's father, Antipater, as well as Herod himself, bound Herod to Rome by persuading the Senate of Rome to confer

on him unexpectedly the title of "King of the Jews." Josephus describes how "when the senate was dissolved, Antony and Cæsar went out of the senate-house, with Herod between them, and with the consuls and other magistrates before them, in order to offer sacrifices and to lay up their decrees in the Capitol." Antony also feasted Herod on the first day of his reign. The vassalage to Rome was complete, the tyranny over Judæa was still to come. This was in 40 B.C. Three years later Herod was at the gates of Jerusalem at the head of a large army, and aided by the Roman general, Sosius. The end of the Hasmonean dynasty was at hand. Herod had laid his plans, not only for their extinction, but for his inheritance of their regal rights by marriage with Mariamme, or Miriam, the beautiful daughter of Alexander Jannæus, who, with her brother, Aristobulus, united both branches of the Hasmoneans, after their uncle Antigonus, the King of the Jews, whose kingdom Herod sought to usurp. The greatest part of the Jewish nation supported Antigonus against Herod, but after a long siege, Herod at the head of the Roman army pressed his way into Jerusalem, where, with the aid of such Jews as were on Herod's side, a cruel and bloody massacre of the Jews took place in the streets and in the Temple itself, and, as Josephus says, "there was no pity taken of either infants or the aged, nor did they spare so much as the weaker sex." Even Herod himself was staggered by this disaster, and his first action as king in Jerusalem was to check the slaughter and buy off Sosius and his army, until they were safely outside the walls of the city. The Hasmonean party, however, met with no mercy from Herod and their

conqueror, and the riches of the Temple were handed over to the Romans. Herod now set to work to consolidate his position, and one by one to remove every person who stood in his way. As the husband of Mariamme, he obtained the powers vested in the head of the Hasmonean dynasty, but he smarted continually at the open contempt shown by his wife and her mother and their relations for the upstart Idumæan usurper. Only a real passion for Mariamme delayed their complete destruction. Herod, however, was of the Arab race, possessing in the most accentuated form the chief characteristics, good and bad, of the Arabians. Though he could feel the passions of love, he could yet resist the charms and seduction which the famous Egyptian queen, Cleopatra, sought to exercise on him. Cleopatra, who had prevailed with Julius Cæsar and with Mark Antony, failed completely with Herod. One by one the members of the Hasmonean dynasty were blotted out; first, the beautiful young brother of Mariamme, Aristobulus, drowned in a bath at Jericho; then the aged and helpless Hyrcanus, once high priest and ethnarch, Mariamme's grandfather; then Mariamme herself, followed quickly by her mother, Alexandra, the one person of whom Herod seems to have been afraid. Later on followed his own two sons by Mariamme, and his eldest son by another wife, Antipater. Other sons survived by other wives, but the Idumæan triumph was annealed by the blood of the Hasmoneans.

It is more satisfactory to turn from these domestic tragedies to the really great work which Herod did for Judæa and Palestine, and for Jerusalem in particular.

It can only be noted here how Herod increased his power not only over Judæa and Galilee but down to the coast; how the Romans, appreciating his value to the cause of their Empire, invested him with authority extending far away across the Hauran and across the Jordan to the confines of the desert, and in the south through the Negeb to the confines of Egypt. The kingdom of Solomon was revived as it were under an even more powerful ruler. Samaria, the ancient capital of the kings of Israel, saw itself rebuilt with great magnificence, as Sebaste, the Græcised form of Augustus. On the coast the small settlement known as Strato's Tower was converted by Herod into a harbour for commerce, a royal residence, and the new capital of Judæa, called Cæsarea, again with homage to Augustus. Jerusalem itself was never a safe home for Herod. He had early in life established a fortress in Idumæa near the Dead Sea called Masada, whither he could retire in safety when in any danger from his enemies. A few miles from Jerusalem and conspicuous from any point of view is a flat-topped hill, on which Herod built himself a palace and a mausoleum, known in his days as Herodium and later on as the Frank Mountain.

Detested as Herod was in Jerusalem, he was yet a sufficiently skilled and crafty ruler to try and obtain for himself the gratitude of the inhabitants by continuous benefits, by improvements in sanitation and the needs of life, and by ostentatious buildings to suit the demands of all classes. While throughout his reign he did all that he could to encourage Greek thought and culture, and to welcome their exponents to his court, he at the

same time took care to carry out all that was customary in providing for the needs of a Græco-Roman community. The gymnasium, or Xystos, originally constructed by Antiochus Epiphanes, came now into regular use in defiance of the Pharisees and what remained of the Hassidim party. In addition to this, Herod built a Hippodrome within the city and an amphitheatre outside, and in these he sought to establish an athletic gathering, which should cast into the shade the Olympian games in Greece. The safety of the city and of the king himself was a matter of great concern.

The first wall of Jerusalem had started from the south portion of the Temple heights, running southward to include the Pool of Siloam, and thence east and north above the valley of Hinnom round the western hill, until it reached a point on the western hill about the site of the present Jaffa Gate. From thence it turned east, following the line of the present so-called David Street, until it joined the wall of the Temple area. During the Hasmonean era a second wall had been built enclosing the whole Temple area and the new Castle of Baris at the north-west angle, and then running westward in a slight curve to meet the first wall near the angle of the Jaffa Gate. Beyond the second wall the district known later as Bezetha, and the heights occupied to-day by the great Christian communities, were open without defence. Herod restored the walls, which had been battered down when he entered Jerusalem with Sosius, and he increased the size and strength of the Castle at the north-west angle, to which now was given the name of Antonia. In addition to this stronghold he built a new citadel-

palace on the far side of the western wall at the angle of the old first wall, dominating with its great towers the whole city of Jerusalem. Three great towers bore the names of Hippicus, Phasael, and Mariamme, of which one exists to this day in a sufficiently original state to preserve the memory of Herod the Great, although oddly enough it is called the Tower of David. Under the protection of these towers was the new palace of the Idumæan king. A fourth tower lay some way off, called Psephinos, which was an important outpost in later days. In this way Herod secured not only his safety, but that of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, who continued to prosper and grow wealthy under his rules. A large party grew up in the city, devoted to the service of Herod, but he still had to break down the hatred and hostility of the Sanhedrim and the Jews of the Temple on the eastern hill. Both Pharisees and Sadducees looked upon Herod as a monster of iniquity, a feeling shared even to a greater extent by the new sect of the Essenes, who in the regions of the Jordan and the Dead Sea cultivated a régime of purity and asceticism in strong contrast to the irreligious and pagan luxury of the city under Herod's rule. The Jews of the Temple and elsewhere, who never abandoned their allegiance to the Tora, and who still cherished the Messianic prophecies dating from the time of Isaiah and Jeremiah, were the most serious enemies with whom Herod had to contend. In order to placate their hostility, Herod, though not a Jew by race or belief, determined to rebuild the Temple once more and upon a greater scale than ever, exceeding not only that of the Temple of Zerubbabel, but even that of Solomon.

Everything which Herod undertook was on a grand scale, whether murder or building.

It is not possible to give a full description of the Temple built by Herod, although it played such an important part in subsequent events. In general the lines were followed of Solomon's Temple rather than that of Zerubbabel. The main sanctuary was on those designed by Solomon; a House or Palace (in Greek, *Naos*), for the Lord and King of Hosts, Jahweh, divided into two portions, the Holy of Holies and the Holy Place, the former secluded by a veil. The Holy Place, or Hekal, was of the same size as that of Solomon, and contained similar furniture, the incense-burner, table of Shewbread, and seven-branched candlestick. Above it was another room, but much lower in height. The double portal was covered by a rich curtain. The porch was of great height and open with doors. From the *Naos* a flight of steps descended to the Court of the Priests between the *Naos* and the Altar of Burnt Offering; from this the laity was excluded. The altar stood as before upon the sacred rock of Araunah. A barrier of stone separated this part from that of the Court of Israel, in which the men of the Faith assembled for worship. East of this was a court, secluded for the use of women, a few steps lower than the Court of Israel, with a gallery from which the women could view the sacrifices. All of these buildings were surrounded with a wall and a fence, strong enough to convert, if necessary, the Inner Temple into a fortress. A few steps lower all round the Inner Temple lay the great Court of the Gentiles, to increase the level of which Herod built great subterranean



MINARET IN THE CASTLE OF ANTONIA

supports extending over part of the Tyropœan Valley. The area of this court is approximately the same as that of the Haram-esh-Sherif at the present day. This was surrounded by high and massive walls, the masonry of which can be seen in many places to-day. Within these walls were splendid colonnades, and eight gates gave access to the outer world. This outer court became part of the busiest life in Jerusalem.

If Herod expected gratitude from the Sanhedrim and the priestly caste, he must have been grievously mistaken. Indeed, he went out of his way to court disappointment by placing over the great porch of the Inner Temple a golden figure of a Roman eagle. This was an affront to the Jewish law and a source of unrest, until Herod lay on his death-bed, when the Scribes and Pharisees stirred up a riot, in which this idolatrous emblem was removed and destroyed. Herod also gave offence by entering into the tomb of David, and removing the treasure still stored therein, in order to defray the cost of these building operations. Herod did not, being a non-believer and an Idumæan, force his own way into the sanctuary. Moreover, by forethought he directed that the new sanctuary should be built only by priestly labour. Before the great outer court was completed, Herod was struck down by a loathsome and fatal disease at Jericho, to which he gradually succumbed.

CHAPTER VI

The Birth of Jesus Christ—The Successors of Herod—The Roman Rule—Pontius Pilate—Jesus Christ at Jerusalem—His Trial and Crucifixion.

The death of Herod the Great is a landmark in the history of the world, though not for his own sake nor from any particular honour due to his memory. Sometime towards the close of his reign, in accordance with the story so widely accepted throughout the world, a small party of travellers were proceeding by the well-trodden track which led across the hills of Judæa from north to south. The party consisted of a carpenter from Nazareth in Galilee, and his wife, who was mounted on a donkey, while by its side her husband, Joseph, trudged on foot. Whether they were alone or in company with other travellers, Joseph was hard pressed to reach a lodging somewhere near Jerusalem, because his girl-wife was far gone with child, and her delivery might occur at any time. The motive of this journey is stated to have been an imperial edict, issued through the Governor of Syria, that all the subjects of Rome should be taxed. For this purpose a census was to be taken of the inhabitants of Palestine, according to their domicile. Joseph, for whom in later days a descent from the House of David was claimed, was apparently one of the Jews whose family resided in or near Jerusalem, and who was therefore due to be taxed in Judæa and not in Galilee, where he was

residing at Nazareth. Mary his wife was also from Judæa, where her cousin Elizabeth was the wife of one Zacharias, at Ain Karim, a few miles west of Jerusalem, and although at a rather advanced age, had just become the mother of a son named John.

As a resident in Galilee, a district much given to sedition and unrest, Joseph would have incurred some danger had he wished to enter Jerusalem itself, where the hand of Herod lay heavy on all those who resisted his authority. Possibly he wished to seek refuge with Zacharias and Elizabeth, but the condition of his wife rendered it necessary for him to push on for shelter that night, when they came in sight of Jerusalem. It is probable that the roads were crowded with travellers bent on the same errand of the census. Joseph pushed on past Jerusalem to Bethlehem, where he would have known of the great Khan, or Caravanserai, founded there by Chimham, the son of Barzillai, the Gileadite, " that great and good man " and friend of the great King David of yore. As they approached the hill on which Bethlehem is built, Mary may have noticed the spot where, according to tradition, Rachel had been taken in travail and had died after giving birth to Benjamin. As she passed the pillar set by Jacob over Rachel's grave Mary may have wondered if the same fate would not befall her. Indeed, matters were serious, for on arrival at the Khan, all the living-rooms were already occupied by travellers, and Joseph was compelled by his wife's condition to be content with part of a stall, usually given up to the beasts of burden. Here he laid his wife, and in the course of the night she was delivered of a son, whom they named Jesus. Common-

place as this story may seem, this birth was the greatest Birth in the history of mankind, a Birth which has affected profoundly the lives of millions of human beings in every part of the world. From the day of the Birth of Jesus at Bethlehem the chronology of history has in later years been classified and dated, and even nations who have never acknowledged Jesus as their Master, their Teacher, or their Prophet, are content to-day to speak of events as having happened before or after the Birth of Jesus Christ, even though the exact year of this birth cannot be established with any certainty. Even at Bethlehem it was felt that something unusual had happened. Joseph was said to have disclaimed the paternity of the Child, and to have asserted that its conception was of a miraculous nature, so absolutely certain that he looked upon his wife as a pure and inviolate Virgin when the pangs of childbirth were first felt by her. In the early morning some shepherds came into the Khan and asked if a child had been born there, because mysterious voices had been heard by them during the night, announcing the birth of the long-expected Messiah, and lo! the Child was there.

Meanwhile a caravan of merchants had been travelling from Persia and elsewhere in the East, charged with the products of their countries, especially the frankincense and myrrh, and other ingredients of sacrifice and temple ritual, for which they found a ready market in Egypt or on their way. This caravan arrived at Jerusalem, where, to the great surprise of the citizens, they asked where they should find him who was born King of the Jews. By some special conjunction of astral bodies, as interpreted

by their lore, they had followed a certain track, which had brought them to Jerusalem. One of the least easily explained incidents of desert or nomad life is the spread of news, faster even than modern science can achieve. Both the guidance of stars and the transmission of news are incidents of such desert travel even at the present day. The expression "King of the Jews" could only mean Herod, but Herod was certainly not born King of the Jews. Herod, hearing of this visit and this strange inquiry, felt uneasy, since the rumour might indicate the necessity for the removal of yet another dangerous pretender to his throne. He sent for the Sheikhs of this caravan to see him at Jericho, but could get nothing more out of them. He then consulted the Sanhedrim and the Scribes, who referred him to the prophecy of the prophet Micah, that from Bethlehem-Ephratah there should come forth He that is to be ruler in Israel. Bethlehem was clearly indicated as the goal for which the caravan was bound, as the stars still guided their course; and with a promise to keep Herod informed, the Sheikhs arrived at Bethlehem and to everyone's great surprise did homage to the infant son of Joseph and Mary.

Meanwhile, Joseph and Mary, as obedient and conforming Jews, had observed all the ritual according to the Mosaic Law connected with the birth of a male child. They had Him circumcised, and after the prescribed number of days brought Him into Jerusalem and presented Him to the Lord God in the Temple, while at the same time His mother was "purified" with the usual ceremonial, like all Hebrew women after childbirth. The presentation of the Child in the Temple excited some

interest owing to the rumours which had been freely disseminated. One old priest, named Simeon, so the story goes, recognised in the Child Jesus the fulfilment of a Divine revelation that he, Simeon, should not die before he had seen the Lord Christ. Anna, a holy old prophetess, and a server in the Temple, joined Simeon in his ecstasy at beholding the future Redeemer of the world. Herod, meanwhile, enraged that the eastern Sheikhs did not return to him as arranged, thought it best to make his throne secure by simply killing all children under two years of age who had the misfortune of being born in Bethlehem. He was too late to accomplish his object, because Joseph had left Bethlehem with his wife and child, and in due course made his way back to Nazareth, where he resumed his former domestic life and occupation as a carpenter, without apparently any further attention to the exceptional circumstances of his son's birth. Such is the traditional association of Jerusalem with the Birth of Jesus Christ. It was at the time a matter of slight and passing interest to the popular mind, and nothing came of it. Herod on his account having, as he thought, wiped out the chances of any child surviving who could claim to have been born King of the Jews at Bethlehem, gave no further thought to this disturbing incident, and continued his building operations on the Temple.

There is nothing in this story of the Birth of Jesus at Bethlehem which on the surface is incompatible with ordinary life and habits in the East. The date and object of the journey to Bethlehem may be called into question and certain details shown to be incompatible with each

other, especially as regards Herod, although the part played by him in the story is in every way characteristic of Herod's own method of government. So far as Jerusalem is concerned, Jesus passes out of sight, except that when the boy attained twelve years of age His parents brought Him up to Jerusalem to comply with the Jewish ritual of adolescence, on which occasion it is narrated that He astonished the priests and scribes in the Temple by His juvenile intelligence. There is nothing to show that His parents, still less any other member of His family, looked upon Jesus as in any way different to themselves.

When Herod saw that his end was approaching, he divided up his dominions among his three surviving sons. Two of these, Archelaus and Philip, had been educated at Rome, and Herod left the kingdom of Judæa to Archelaus, and the Transjordanian provinces to Philip. Galilee and other districts he left to a younger Herod, called Antipas, and Philip and Antipas were given the title of tetrarch. Part of Southern Palestine was left to his sister Salome. After a magnificent funeral of his father at Herodium, Archelaus was installed as King in the Temple. In spite of the assurances which he gave of his good-will and desire to remedy the ill-deeds of his father, the reception given him in Jerusalem was frankly hostile. The riots caused by the pulling down of the golden imperial eagle over the porch of the Inner Temple had been punished by Herod with the most cruel and inhuman severity. The memory of this was still fresh, and now that the tyrant himself was no more, a torrent of popular hatred burst upon his successors. It was, however, with Cæsar at Rome that the decision lay, and the independence of Judæa and Syria

had departed for ever. Archelaus, Antipas and Salome went off to Rome, leaving Philip as a temporary governor at Jerusalem. As might be expected, the children of a tyrant quarrelled among themselves over the inheritance, and Augustus Cæsar was called to decide upon these quarrels, as well as to deal with an actual revolt against the Roman rule in Jerusalem. Once more history repeated itself, and the rebellious Jews after severe losses found themselves besieged within the Temple area, where the outer walls and cloisters were destroyed by fire, and the treasure-house sacked by the Roman soldiers. Brigandage and sedition raged around Jerusalem, and many of Herod's palaces at Jericho, Amathus, and elsewhere were destroyed by the rebels. So serious was this rebellion that Cæsar sent Quintilius Varus, his commander-in-chief in Syria, to restore order. Varus reached Jerusalem and dealt out Roman justice to the conflicting parties, referring all decisions to Rome. Thither the Jews sent a special embassy to solicit the help of Cæsar against Archelaus and the friends of Herod. Cæsar, however, supported King Herod's will, although he refused the title of king to Archelaus, naming him ethnarch, and handing over part of the kingdom bequeathed to Archelaus to Philip and Antipas. Jerusalem and Joppa were allotted to Archelaus, but after a few years he proved such an inefficient and treacherous ruler that he was deposed by order of Cæsar, and exiled to Gaul. The kingdom of Judæa was now abolished, and Judæa was merged in the province of Syria, a procurator, or lieutenant-governor, being sent to govern Judæa, but under the governorship of Publius Sulpicius Quiri-



THE TOMB OF ABSALOM

nius (or Cyrenius), a high Roman official of senatorial rank. With the breakdown of the strong civil government under Herod, Jerusalem became more and more divided into sects. With every change of government a new high priest was appointed. Josephus says that, when Archelaus came to Judæa as ethnarch, Joazar, the son of Boethus, was high priest, but Archelaus put Eleazar, his brother, in his place, who did not abide long in the high priesthood, Jesus, the son of Sie, being put in his room while Eleazer was still living. Under Coponius, the first Roman procurator, Joazar was high priest again, but Quirinius came to Jerusalem and deprived Joazar, putting in Ananus, Hanan, or Annas, the son of Seth. The fourth procurator deprived Ananus, and appointed Ishmael, but then gave the high priesthood to Eleazar the son of Ananus; yet Valerius Gratus, the next procurator, deprived Eleazar, and appointed one Simon, who was succeeded by Joseph Kaiaphas. Gratus was succeeded as procurator in A.D. 26 by Pontius Pilatus. The procurator resided at Cæsarea on the coast, not in Jerusalem, except for winter-quarters. Indeed Jerusalem could not have been a pleasant place to live in for a Roman governor. All the strictly conforming Jews were hostile to Rome, and although Cæsar retained the right to appoint governors and also the high priest, the Romans interfered as little as they could in the affairs of the Temple or the Jewish ritual. The Temple itself was rent with discord between the Scribes and the Pharisees, the Sadducees, and the increasing sect of the Essenes. Another sect was that founded by one Judas of Gamala, known as the Galilæan, whose tenets were somewhat

akin to those which were soon to be taught and published by Jesus, but whose sons started a sect of violent and extreme views, known as the Zealots. Luxury, extravagance, irreligion as well as idolatry, and exclusive Brahminism in the priesthood on one side and religious dissent amounting to violence on another, all contributed to disorder in the daily life of Jerusalem. Pilate, as he is usually called by posterity, had a disagreeable task in controlling the continual tumults among the Jews. Everything which he did was criticised and reported to Rome.

" There was about this time," writes Josephus, " Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works—a teacher of such men as receive the truth with pleasure. He drew over to him both many of the Jews, and many of the Gentiles. He was Christ. . . ." In these few appreciatory words Josephus, the Romanised Jew, introduces the long-expected Messiah. While Jerusalem and Judæa were thus in a state of turbulence through the hostility between the Roman government, the supporters of Herod, and the priestly rulers of the Temple, while within its own walls the Temple saw the high priesthood transferred at short notice from one powerful family to another, the prize of intrigue and treachery, even of actual homicide, a voice was heard from the banks of the Jordan a few miles from Jerusalem, crying for repentance of sins and announcing the advent of the so ardently awaited Messiah. The sect of the Essenes or Therapeutes had gradually gained strength and numbers, as a counterpoise to the ever-increasing corruption of morals and religion which had

been introduced by the Greek and Roman conquerors of Palestine, and was now only too evident in Jerusalem itself. Such luxury and immorality were not in accordance with the habits of Eastern life, with the tribal laws, and with the healthy atmosphere of the desert or the steppe. The Essenes formed a community on the banks of the Jordan in which asceticism reached a very high level. They enjoyed much popular support and had no little influence in Jerusalem, even though their communistic customs were in marked contrast to the growing personal wealth of the Jews all over the East. One John, the same, according to tradition, as the son of Zacharias and Elizabeth at Ain Karim, the relations of Mary, the mother of Jesus, at Nazareth, had not only become an Essene, but had so far exceeded them in asceticism of life and food, that he had become a leader among them, and was looked upon as a prophet, whose fame reached to the city of Jerusalem itself. John founded a sect of his own followers, who were admitted by being sprinkled with water from the Jordan, thus inaugurating the rite of baptism, which obtains at the present day over so large a part of the civilised world. Many of the Essenes were thus admitted to the service of their God. John repudiated any suggestion that he was himself the Messiah, whose arrival had been foretold by Isaiah seven hundred years ago, a prophecy which John asserted was now to be fulfilled.

Meanwhile in Galilee there was great stir over the strange words and actions of a young man, called Jesus, whose parents lived at Nazareth. Wonderful stories came from the Lake of Gennesaret of the teaching con-

veyed in the words of this young man, and of the actual miracles which He was reputed to have performed. Multitudes of the poorer classes were following His footsteps " from Galilee and from Decapolis and from Jerusalem, and from Judæa and from beyond Jordan." This Jesus, having left His home, made His way down to the Essenian settlements by the Jordan, and submitted Himself to the teaching of John. When this young man came to John and asked to be baptised, John recognised in Him the Messiah, whose advent he had foretold, and this was corroborated, when the rite of baptism was performed, by a miraculous revelation from on high. Jesus left the banks of the Jordan a different man. He was no longer merely Jesus, but Christus, as well; Christ, the anointed one, the Messiah, known in the world's history for ever as Jesus Christ. The office, thus conferred by John and announced by Divine message, seems to have overwhelmed Jesus for the time, so that He withdrew alone into the wild mountains of Judæa, to commune with Himself, and wrestle with all the difficulties and temptations which surrounded His mission as the Redeemer and Saviour of mankind. It is possible that during His period of seclusion He went up to Jerusalem, and once more visited the Temple, where as an infant He had been held in the arms of the aged Simeon, and been greeted even then as the long-hoped-for Messiah, and in which as a boy He had astonished the bearded scribes and rabbis by His precocious knowledge and skill in debate. The greater part, however, of the story narrated in the Gospels of the work and miracles of Jesus Christ in Galilee is not concerned with the city

of Jerusalem, and so cannot be repeated here. It can only be noted that Jesus Christ remained some time in the Jordan Valley among the disciples of John, but came to recognise that His own mission on earth was far greater than that of John and the Essenes, who sought like the Hindu or the Buddhist in the Far East to concentrate their own lives on the purity of their own minds and bodies, and make themselves acceptable to their God. Jesus Christ henceforth concentrated His life-work on the service of humanity, and paid no attention to His own self. John, by his outspoken and reiterated denunciation of vice, even in the highest quarters, brought down upon his head the fury and vengeance of aggrieved women, who wrought his destruction for their own satisfaction. The tragedy of Machaerus was felt throughout Judæa, and especially in Jerusalem, where John was looked upon as a prophet like Isaiah or Jeremiah. The murder of so conspicuous and so holy a Jew made Herod Antipas and his family more and more hated in Jerusalem, especially because, since the deposition of Archelaus, Judæa as far as Jerusalem had been added to the tetrarchy of Antipas. The Scribes and Pharisees were now on the alert. The death of the prophet John brought into stronger light the existence of a new and greater Prophet in Galilee. Spies were sent down from the Temple at Jerusalem to dog the footsteps of Jesus Christ in Galilee, to report to the Sanhedrim the nature of His teaching, and, if possible, to entrap Jesus into some false step, which could give the Sanhedrim a chance of suppressing this Galilæan if they thought it necessary. Indeed, at Jerusalem a Galilæan was held in

great contempt. It was true that many of the inhabitants of Galilee were Jews, but they were usually rebellious against the authority of Jerusalem. They were a race of peasants and small artisans, and therefore susceptible to any plausible tongue. The unrest in Galilee had been crushed by Herod the Great, and as for prophets, they were always turning up in Galilee. Quite recently some Galilæans had been executed by Pontius Pilate for some breach of order. Little, however, could be alleged against Jesus. He was the son of a respectable though humble Jewish family at Nazareth. He Himself was a Jew by birth and training, conformed to its ritual, attended in the synagogue and at the annual festivals in Jerusalem, and showed a remarkable knowledge of the holy books and of the Tora itself. The only charge which could be brought against Him and His followers was a disregard of the rigid sanctity attached to the Sabbath day. There were no signs of violence in anything which Jesus said or did. Instead of a sturdy rebel defying authority there appeared one of the gentlest of mankind, and the message which He brought was one of peace and not of war. Yet every word which He preached in the synagogue by the side of the lake, or on a neighbouring hill, every miracle which He wrought, burnt like a hot iron into the consciences of all in authority at the Temple. Never had the supremacy of the Sanhedrim in wisdom and good government been challenged in such vigorous language and with such telling accuracy. Jesus was to them the most dangerous of all those upstart fanatics who dared to preach repentance and reform, not merely to

the low class who might need them, but to the wealthy Sadducee, the pious Pharisee, the learned Scribe, the fervid Zealot, even to the priesthood itself in the Temple. In every case their authority and their right to represent their God Jahweh was challenged by this Jesus. Wherever He went He was followed by a crowd of ecstatic worshippers of every sex and age. Wealthy citizens left their homes and their business to follow this *ignis fatuus*. This in itself might cause disorder and give the Sanhedrim an excuse for laying hands on Him. On one of His visits to Jerusalem Jesus had the audacity to perform a so-called miracle at the Pool of Bethesda and on the Sabbath day: for this the Sanhedrim sought to stir up a riot, in which Jesus might lose His life. Jesus, however, was undismayed, and infuriated them further by claiming the miracle as that of His Father in Heaven, in whose name He Himself had been sent to earth to complete and extend the work inaugurated by John, in order to save mankind from eternal damnation at the approaching Judgment Day. "Search the Scriptures," he bade them with scorching irony, "for had ye believed Moses, ye would have believed Me, for he wrote of Me."

This was a direct challenge to the Sanhedrim, who sought to kill Jesus, but He evaded them and returned to Galilee. On another occasion, when the Feast of Tabernacles was celebrated at Jerusalem, Jesus attended at first in secret, for though He had found many supporters, they feared the wrath of the priests. All the same, Jesus went up into the Temple and taught. He had the audacity to expound the Law of Moses to the very persons who were responsible for the interpretation and

administration of that law, and so boldly that He reduced them to silence. By this time popular feeling began to be on His side, and the rumour ran through the crowds in the Courts of the Temple, that this was the Christ, the long-expected Messiah. Orders were sent to take the insolent blasphemer into custody, but no person would touch Him. The people looked upon Him as a prophet, and a prophet was a holy man. Some even went so far as to say that this man was born at Bethlehem and of the seed of David, as written in the Scriptures. The Roman officers would not touch Him, as He had not committed any offence against public order. His enemies took refuge in the assertion that no prophet could come out of Galilee, the idea was too absurd, but Nicodemus, a high-placed Pharisee, who had spoken privately with Jesus on a former occasion, bade them not judge any man " before it hear him and know what he doeth."

Jesus on His visits to Jerusalem was careful not to reside within the forbidding walls of the Holy City. Within these walls, even in the Temple precincts, His life was not safe, but outside the walls He was beyond the reach of the Sanhedrim and in safety, so long as He committed no offence against public order which could be alleged as a crime against the Government of Rome. It is probable that Jesus Christ never spent a night inside the walls of Jerusalem. His lodging was usually somewhere on the Mount of Olives, or with friends at Bethany, or sometimes in His old haunts at Jericho or in the Jordan Valley. At Bethany He lodged with friends, two sisters, Mary and Martha, and a brother, Lazarus, whom Jesus was reputed to have brought back to life

after he had been actually entombed as dead. This reported miracle brought the hostility of the Sanhedrim to a head. Kaiaphas, the high priest, and his father-in-law, Hanan or Annas, a former high priest, resolved on the suppression of Jesus Christ by fair means or foul. To them is due the saying, which has lain at the base of all religious strife and persecution, that it is expedient that one man should die for the people and that the whole nation perish not. The high priests and Pharisees, therefore, took counsel together for to put Jesus to death, especially because numbers of Jews were beginning to believe in Him. Jesus, however, took refuge some way off from Jerusalem in a town called Ephrain, and escaped for a time from their vigilance. Soon after these events the date of the Passover was approaching in the month of Nisan, which inaugurated the new year in the Jewish Calendar. It was the custom for the Jews to arrive at Jerusalem a few days before the actual feast, in order to go through certain rites of purification. His enemies feared at first that Jesus Christ would not dare to come to Jerusalem on this occasion, but six days before the feast Jesus came as usual to the house of His friends at Bethany, where He was entertained with marked honour in the house of one Simon the leper. This reception seems to have made Jesus more and more exalted in mind as to the approaching fulfilment of His task. The next day watchers on the long portico at the top of the wall of the Temple, which looked down into the deep valley of the Kedron across to the Mount of Olives, saw a small crowd of people collected at the bottom of the valley, where the path leads down over the hill from the direction

of Bethany, near a farmhouse known as Bethphage. Another group of men and women were seen descending this path, and when the two groups had met, there emerged a young man riding on an ass, with the ass's colt trotting by His side. As He rode up the circling path, which led to one of the gates into the Temple area, men and women were dancing probably before the rider, throwing down their cloaks for Him to ride over, and casting branches of palms on His path, or waving them as they walked. Such processions are not uncommon sights at Jerusalem. On this occasion the crowd were shouting Hosanna, and addressing Jesus as the "Son of David," as "King of Israel, who came in the name of Jahweh." Jerusalem was full of persons who were flocking there for the Passover, and this rather theatrical arrival of the Galilæan prophet excited much attention and some murmurs within the Temple precincts. On this occasion or on one of the following days Jesus entered the outer court of the Temple, and drove out many of the small pedlars of money and other necessities of ritual, who had established their stalls or booths within the precincts, as if at a fair. Complaints of this violence reached the Sanhedrim within the sanctuary itself. The moment was favourable for action by the high priests, Annas and Kaiaphas. Pontius Pilate, the procurator, was in official residence in the Roman Castle of Antonia. Even Herod Antipas was paying one of his few and hurried visits to Jerusalem in the fortress palace erected by his father. Jesus seemed on this occasion to court His fate, but it was necessary for the high priests, if they took action against

Him, to get it through before the Passover actually began.

The rest of the pitiful but immortal story, the tragedy which has purified and ennobled the trend of human life for upwards of two thousand years, need not be narrated at length, although it had such a lasting effect upon the history of Jerusalem. Jesus Christ, who was anxious to keep the Feast of the Passover together with His disciples and other followers, as if they were a household, had sent on some of them to secure a room within the city, in which they could all partake of the feast together. It is uncertain if Jesus ever used this room, or if He partook of His last meal in the house on the Mount of Olives, or at Bethany, to which He returned each night after visiting the Temple. On the evening of the 13th Nisan, corresponding to April 2 in the Christian calendar, Jesus Christ sat at supper with His twelve disciples. According to all accounts Jesus was fully aware of the danger in which He was in, and the intention of the Sanhedrim to arrest Him before the actual hour when the Feast of the Passover began. Treachery was at work and corruption among His little group of followers. Subsequent events have invested this Last Supper of Jesus Christ and His disciples with all the mystery and sanctity of a solemn sacrament. It need not be supposed that those who partook of the meal attached the same significhance to it, altough their Master alluded most pointedly to the immediate danger which was impending, and which would probably cost Him His life. At this critical moment, as after the baptism which He had received from the hands of John on the banks of the Jordan, Jesus

seemed to vacillate in some uncertainty as to whether His mission was accomplished, or would be cut short and brought to nought by His death. At first Jesus and His disciples prepared to resist any attack upon His person. Once more Jesus sought for solitude to collect His thoughts. When it was completely night Jesus went down to cross the brook Kedron, and rested, as He probably had often done before, in the garden of an olive-orchard, where there was an oil-press, known as Gethsemani. Here He withdrew and prayed, while His disciples slept. After an agonising struggle with His human self, Jesus felt that only in His death could He hope to convince His friends and His enemies of His Divine mission and His Divine birth. Jesus rose from that prayer the Redeemer of mankind.

Meanwhile the Sanhedrim had represented to Pilate, or to the Roman officer in command at Antonia, that this Galilæan rebel had transgressed the Roman laws by assuming the title of King as well as by His outrages on public decorum in the precincts of the Temple. The actual arrest was, however, made by the armed Levite police in the Temple under the commands of the Sanhedrim. Led by the traitor, Judas Iscariot, an armed band descended the hill from the Temple, arrested Jesus in the Garden of Gethsemane, and dragged Him off as a prisoner to the house of the high priest, Kaiaphas, on Mount Ophel. There Jesus was confronted with that formidable old man, the ex-high priest, Hanan or Annas, who sought to entrap Jesus into some confession of blasphemy, impiety, or breach of the law, which under the Mosaic code would justify them in condemning Him to

death. Jesus declined to discuss anything, on the ground that everything which He had said or done had been in public. Annas passed on his prisoner to the real high priest, who, before the assembled Sanhedrim, cross-examined Jesus as to His pretensions to be able to restore and rebuild the Temple, and as to His claim to be the Messiah. Jesus again declined to answer, or, at all events, to enter upon any discussion. The case had been prejudged by the Sanhedrim, and their prisoner's condemnation assured beforehand, but the Sanhedrim had no power to carry out a sentence of death. This had to be approved by the Roman governor. Jesus was confined in the high priest's house during the remainder of the night, subjected to the insults of the base menials of the high priest's household. In the early morning the priests bound Jesus and brought Him to the official residence of Pontius Pilate, the procurator, next to the tower of Antonia, which overlooked the Temple area. Pilate was roused from his slumber or from his own business. The priests themselves refused to cross the threshold of the Prætorium for fear of pollution on the eve of the Sabbath. Jesus was therefore conducted by the guards to Pilate, who received Him on his throne of office and examined Him in private. The Roman procurator had no sympathy with the Jews in the Temple, and no respect for the Mosaic code; and he had no desire, being a Roman of high breeding and education, for any unnecessary shedding of blood. So far as Pilate could discover, Jesus had committed no offence against public order and decorum, and seemed to be an innocent and gentle enthusiast, who could do no harm to anybody.

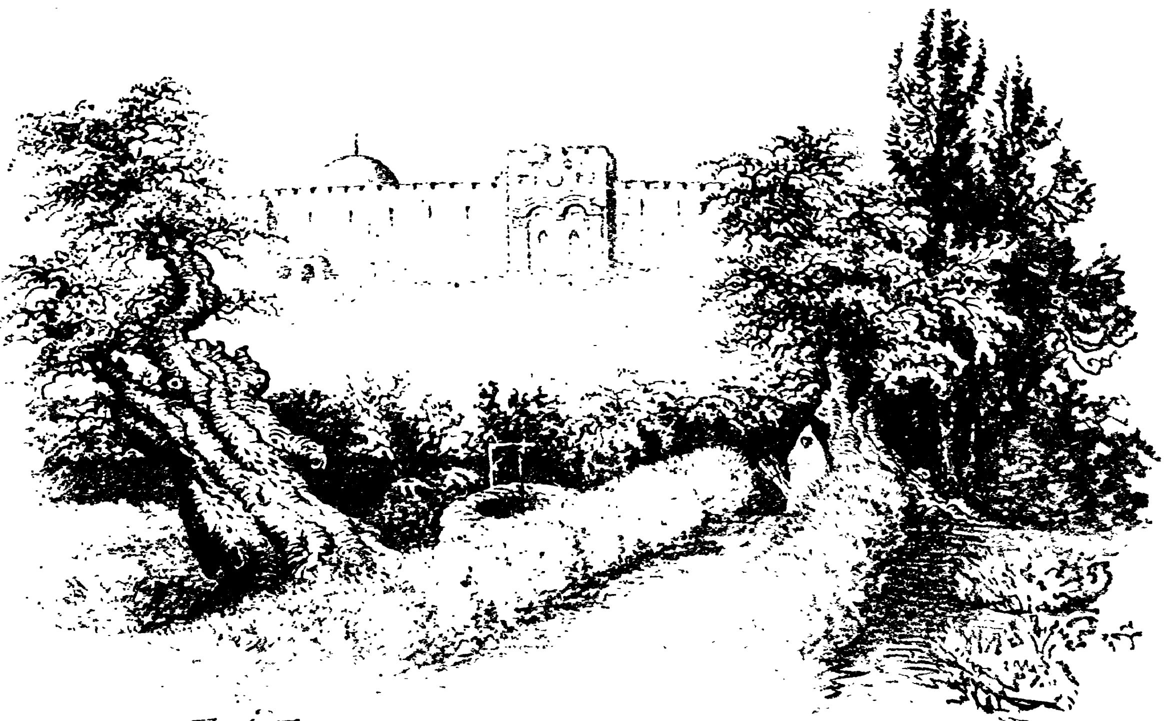
The Jewish priests had charged Jesus with claiming to be "King of the Jews," a charge unsupported by any evidence, other than the voices of the crowd, who had acclaimed Him as King of Israel. This was an ingenious perversion of the truth, because the kingdom of the Jews had been abolished by the Roman Cæsar, and any pretender to this title must cause offence to Roman authority. Pilate taxed Jesus with this, but Jesus replied that His kingdom was not of this world. Pilate was no metaphysician or idealist, and with a Roman fact was fact, and words had a definite meaning in practice. Nevertheless Pilate wished to save Jesus from the vengeance of the priests, and thought that he might do this, because at the Feast of the Passover the Romans found it expedient to perform some act of public clemency. He had in prison a noted and blood-stained bandit whose name was also Jesus, surnamed Barabbas. Coming out again to his public throne, Pilate offered to the crowd of priests and Pharisees to release either Jesus, the Galilæan, or Jesus Barabbas, the bandit. To his surprise the crowd shouted with the voice of fanaticism for the release of the bandit. Pilate had now done his best to save Jesus, but still hoped to spare His life. In order to appease the crowd he allowed the soldiers of the guard to dress up the prisoner in mock royal state, scourge Him, and insult Him in public. For this act of cowardly cruelty Pilate must be held responsible. It was all in vain. The fanatical horde would be content with nothing but death, the public crucifixion which under Roman law was the fate of ordinary criminals. Pilate still refused, and even, according to some account, tried to push the responsi-

bility on to Herod Antipas, who happened to be in Jerusalem. At last, in a fit of temper, as much against the dogged silence of the prisoner as against the bloodthirsty fanaticism of the Jewish mob, Pilate abandoned Jesus to His fate and gave the order for His crucifixion.

The Sanhedrim had triumphed. Not only had their enemy been condemned to death, but they had succeeded in getting Him condemned as a commonplace offender against the Roman laws, so that it rested with the Roman power to perform the actual act of execution. Even the Jewish historian, Josephus, states that Pilate acted on the accusation of the princes of the Jewish nation. It only remained to get the whole of the piteous tragedy over before the evening, when the Feast of the Passover would actually begin. Two other prisoners were ready for execution, and crosses had probably been prepared for them and for the bandit Barabbas, now a free man. Each criminal had to carry his own cross to the place of execution. This was situated, as is usual in an Eastern town, outside the walls; in this case outside the gate in the second wall, beyond which was the open unenclosed tract of ground now occupied by the Christian quarter of Jerusalem, but then little more than rough hillocks, such as may be seen about Jerusalem at the present day, with rock-tombs scattered here and there in the rising ground.

This is not the place to recount the sad incidents of the procession through the streets and bazaars of Jerusalem. The inhabitants were probably too familiar with such incidents to give more than passing notice to the

procession, and probably even interested spectators could the next day have given little information as to incidents which are burnt into the memories of millions in the twentieth century after this event. Christ, weary and feeble after His cruel treatment during the night and the morning, was unable to carry His cross, and had to be assisted. Eventually they reached the gate and the spot outside, known as Golgotha, the place of a skull, probably the accustomed place of public execution. Here Jesus and the other two criminals were fastened to their crosses, which were then erected and planted in the ground. A crowd assembled, in which the friends and disciples of the chief criminal at first probably attracted little attention, although when the crosses were once erected the interest of the crowd would quickly have disappeared. Death on the cross was slow and lingering, and, in cases where it might seem necessary, the actual moment of death was often accelerated. It would have been contrary to the Mosaic code to leave the bodies on their crosses after the Passover had actually been started. The afternoon was stormy, the sky lowering; one of those storms which are so frequent in the mountains of Judæa could be seen coming up from the north-west. Once more the human element in Jesus Christ was put to a severe test. Once more the physical agony from which Jesus was suffering made Him lose heart in the actual success of His Divine mission. Once more the Divine element reasserted itself, and in His dying moments Jesus found Himself reabsorbed into His Father in heaven. About three hours after midday the storm burst over Jerusalem with



THE HARAM ESK SHERIF WITH THE GOLDEN GATE
From the Garden of Gethsemane

such violence as to produce the sensation of an earthquake, and during the storm the end came. "It is finished," cried Jesus, and expired.

The Jewish ritual did not permit of a dead body lying unburied during one of the feasts, and as Jesus was already dead after so short an exposure, steps would have been taken to remove His body and throw it into the common grave for criminals. Jesus had, however, friends and believers even among the wealthy members of the Sanhedrim itself, such as Nicodemus and Joseph of Ha-ramathaim, or Arimathæa. The latter possessed or knew of an unoccupied tomb in the rocks quite close by, in which the body of Jesus could be deposited for a time, until His final resting-place could be decided. Having obtained permission from Pilate to remove the body, the friends and disciples of Jesus carried Him out, and amid the wailings of the women mourners Jesus was laid in the temporary sepulchre prepared for Him.

In Jerusalem itself the whole affair was but of passing interest. The citizens returned to their daily life and work, the priests and Levites to the service of the Temple. Annas and Kaiaphas congratulated each other on the removal of this tiresome intruder in their precincts. Pontius Pilate made his arrangements for immediate return to his villa on the seashore at Cæsarea, and began to reckon up his various disagreements with the intractable people over whom he had been set as governor. Herod Antipas returned to Galilee for a further short sojourn in his palace and harem at Tiberias. It would seem as if Jesus Christ had been but a mere

trifling episode in Palestinian life, perhaps even less important than John the Baptist, who had been sacrificed to a woman's whim, but whose disciples and followers still lingered on the banks of the Jordan and the Dead Sea.

CHAPTER VII

The Early Church in Jerusalem—The Resurrection of Jesus Christ—The Apostles—The First Martyr—Herod Agrippa—The Roman Procurators—Rebellion of the Jews—Josephus—John of Gischala—Destruction of Jerusalem by Titus—Rebellion under Bar-Coch-ba—Jerusalem again Destroyed by the Romans.

It was the first evening of the Passover in Jerusalem. In the upper room engaged by Jesus Christ for the solemn meal of the Paschal ritual there was gathered together a sad and disconsolate party of men and women. Some twenty-four hours or more had elapsed since their beloved Master and Teacher had sat among His disciples and broken bread and drank wine with them. It is true that His last words had been full of foreboding disaster, but the march of events had been swift, and Jesus was already dead and buried, and His flock left without a shepherd. Yet the mere fact of His death on the cross had done much to define and seal the message which Christ had left for His disciples to deliver. They recalled His many sayings, especially those uttered at that Last Supper, of which they had partaken such a little time ago. They recalled His miracles, and at the same time the prophetic words of Isaiah, which seemed so entirely fulfilled by the death of Jesus. " Surely He hath borne our griefs and carried our sorrows. . . . He was wounded for our transgressions, He was bruised

for our iniquities. . . . He was brought as a lamb to the slaughter, and as a sheep before her shearers is dumb, so He openeth not His mouth. . . . He made His grave with the wicked, and with the rich in His death: because He had done no violence, neither was any deceit in His mouth." Jesus was dead, but His Spirit remained with them. The Paschal lamb on the dish before them was the symbol of a new sacrifice, a new salvation, which was to take the place of the Mosaic symbol in the hearts of the human race. Little as they knew of it at the time, the judicial murder of Jesus Christ changed the whole history of the world.

Another day and night elapsed, and then came the startling news that the body of Christ was no longer in the sepulchre in which it had been laid. Fast upon this news came the rumour that Jesus had been seen alive, had appeared to His disciples, to Mary of Magdala, and to His mother, had walked and broken bread with two of His followers a few miles outside Jerusalem, all in a visible, palpable human shape. Other rumours spoke of His having been seen in Galilee on the Lake of Gennesaret. A rumour like this among Eastern races flies fast and gains strength as it passes from ear to ear. Many pious Jews in Jerusalem itself had been shocked by the summary violence shown in the case of Jesus, the Galilæan or Nazarene, whose appearance and demeanour were in such contrast to those of Judas of Gamala and other so-called Messianic reformers, who usually had recourse to the sword as their chief weapon of argument. The miracle of Christ's resurrection from the dead was welcomed by some Jews as a release from the charge of

an unjust death sentence. The promise of immortality, conveyed in the doctrine and ritual of the worship of Jahweh, now gained fresh strength and importance. A new message had thus been given to His followers by Jesus in His own person, " that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in His name among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem." His own mission was now complete, and Jesus before long was no longer visible, having parted from His disciples on the Mount of Olives, where so many hours of His life had been passed. After this event the disciples returned to Jerusalem filled with ecstatic fervour at the final message of their Divine Master. They summoned the women of their company, including the mother of Jesus and those who believed in Christ, now numbering 120 souls. That meeting was the first meeting of the Christian Church, which from the outset admitted women to its circle. On the ensuing Feast of Pentecost the followers of Christ again assembled, and on this occasion the Divine inspiration became overwhelming and the call to action irresistible. Going out into the streets, they began to preach the new Gospel of Christ among the devout Jews of the many races who formed the inhabitants of Jerusalem. Somehow or other the disciples, Simon Peter and others, rough fishermen or peasants from Galilee, made themselves understood of all, Parthians and Medes and Ebionites, and the dwellers in Mesopotamia and in Judæa and Cappadocia, in Pontus and Asia, Phrygia and Pamphylia, in Egypt, and in the parts of Libya about Cyrene, and strangers in Rome, Jews and proselytes, Cretes and Arabians—such is the list of the polyglot Jewish popula-

tion of Jerusalem, showing how far and wide the dispersion, or Diaspora, of the Jews had spread during the last two hundred years. Some citizens merely thought the disciples intoxicated, but many others realised for the first time the true meaning of the teaching of Jesus Christ. Many were baptised, and in one day the number of believers in Christ was raised to 3,000, and "the Lord added to the Church daily such as should be saved."

Although Simon Peter and the other leading disciples, or Apostles as they may now be styled, followed the example of Jesus, in conforming both to the Mosaic ritual of the Temple and to the Roman law in the city outside; they also followed His example by entering the outer courts of the Temple itself, and both preaching the Gospel there and performing miracles themselves in the name of God the Father. The priests and guardians of the Temple were alarmed at the popular enthusiasm for the miracles wrought by these Galilæan peasants before their own eyes. Annas and Kaiaphas and the other members of their priestly hierarchy had the offenders brought before them. It was no longer a case of the lamb brought to the slaughter, or the dumb sheep, as on the occasion when they had cross-examined Jesus. Simon Peter and John, the spokesmen of the Apostles, showed no fear of the Sanhedrim; they spoke out boldly and taxed the Sanhedrim with the murder of Jesus Christ. So strong was their backing, that the high priests did not dare to lay hands upon them. The new sect of the followers of Christ increased rapidly, and in the fervour of conversion private citizens poured out their wealth, which was taken into common use for

the benefit of all. The number of miracles increased, until the Sanhedrim in anger ordered Peter and John to be put into prison. The prison doors were, however, soon open again, and the Apostles, in spite of rough handling, continued their work, "and daily in the Temple and in every house they ceased not to teach and preach Jesus Christ." Even in the Temple itself the new doctrine began to work its leaven among the priesthood, and outside during some of the continual quarrels between the Jews of the modern Hellenic party and those of the rigid, unbending obedience to the Lord, the new Church of Jesus Christ began to take shape and gain actual authority. The number of converts increased so fast that it became necessary to appoint new assistants in the ministry. Seven men of honest report were selected from the congregation and brought to the Apostles, who, "when they had prayed, laid their hands on them," thus transmitting to these new ministers or servants (diaconi, or deacons) the spiritual powers which the Apostles themselves had received from Jesus Christ as God. This was the beginning of the Christian Church. One of these young deacons was named Stephen, and he was filled with passionate exaltation for his mission. So powerful was Stephen's preaching in the synagogue and among the common people, that his opponents charged him with blasphemy and brought him, in his turn, before the Sanhedrim. Stephen, challenged by the high priest, retorted by a long exposition of the Mosaic history, and ended by asserting that, if any blasphemy or impiety had been committed, this should be laid to the charge of the priesthood itself.

Then, standing before the Sanhedrim in exaltation, he declared that he saw at that moment, with his own eyes, the heavens opened and the Son of Man standing on the right hand of God. This was too much for the priests: the impiety was patent and unabashed. Death for impiety was within their power, so long as it did not involve the shedding of blood. Stephen was seized by the Levite guards, dragged out of the Temple precincts, out of the Gate and down the steep slope to the valley of Kedron, where the infuriated mob stoned him to death, the customary punishment for impiety. Stephen was the first martyr, or witness to the truth of Christ's resurrection, and the first to give his life in the service of Jesus Christ. The story goes that those who stoned Stephen to death laid down their clothes at a young man's feet, whose name was Saul, and Saul was consenting to his death. The death of Stephen was followed by a frenzied persecution of the new Church in Jerusalem, in which the said Saul took a leading part. Many converts were imprisoned, and many took refuge in flight throughout Judæa and Samaria.

The teaching of Jesus Christ had been by no means confined to Jerusalem. His main work had been in Galilee and in the regions about the Jordan. Thence it had spread as far as Damascus, where its effect had shown itself in the synagogues of that city. Saul, stimulated by his success in suppressing the new Church of Jerusalem, offered the high priest his services in carrying his work of destruction on to the similar heretical community in Damascus. During his journey to Damascus he had a vision suddenly, which amounted to a



VIA DOLOROSA, JERUSALEM

Showing the Seventh Station of the March to Calvary

direct reproof by the Lord God for what he had done. Saul staggered into Damascus blind and unable to take food. When he had recovered sufficiently there came to him a converted Jew, by name Ananias, who baptised him. The ruthless persecutor now became one of the most fervid believers in Jesus Christ, and the destined creator of that religion which was to take the form of an independent Church based on the teaching of its original Founder. For three years Paul, as Saul was now called, preached the Gospel of Christ in Damascus and the cities of the Hauran. Peter and John continued to work miracles and gain proselytes for their Church in Jerusalem and its vicinity. The seed was sown, and, like the grain of mustard seed of which Jesus had spoken, was to become a great tree spreading over the whole earth.

Meanwhile in Jerusalem life went on as before. There were three governments in Jerusalem and Judæa: Cæsar, the Herod, and the high priest in the Temple. Cæsar was represented by his procurator, Pontius Pilate, who during his ten years of office was continually at loggerheads with the Jews or Samaritans or somebody. At one time it was the question of the imperial standard bearing a figure of Cæsar being brought into the precincts of the Temple, into which no image, graven or otherwise, was allowed by the Mosaic Law to enter; at another time it was a question of expending money out of the Treasury in the Temple upon repairs of public buildings. Then there was trouble with the Samaritans, who appealed to the Governor-General of Syria, Vitellius (father of the Emperor). He eventually ordered Pilate back to Rome,

and came up to Jerusalem himself to try and placate the Jews, which he succeeded in doing for the moment by allowing the high priest to remove to his own custody in the Temple the sacred vestments and ornaments, which had been kept in custody since the days of Hyrcanus in the tower of Antonia. Perhaps this caused some dissension between the formidable old Hanan or Annas, the real murderer of Jesus Christ, and his son-in-law, Joseph Kaiaphas, for the latter was deposed by Vitellius, who appointed one of the sons of Hanan to be high priest in the room of his brother-in-law. So passed Pontius Pilate and Kaiaphas out of the history of Jerusalem.

The second government in Judæa, that of the Herod, now regained force and importance. Tiberius was now Cæsar in Rome, and Agrippa, one of the grandsons of Herod the Great and of Mariamme the Hasmonean, sought to make himself King of the Jews like his grandfather. He went to Rome to solicit this office from the suzerain, but Tiberius, moody and suspicious in his retreat at Capri, instead of promoting Agrippa, clapped him into gaol, as a fraudulent debtor, an oppressor of the poor, and, above all, as a dangerous friend of his probable successor in the purple, his great-nephew, Caius.

When Tiberius died and Caius actually did become Cæsar, one of his first deeds was to liberate Agrippa and invest him with the desired crown. This was little more than a title, because Agrippa was not allowed to leave Rome, where he lived in magnificent style as the personal friend of Caius, who became better known as

the Emperor Caligula. Meanwhile, at Jerusalem, the dissensions between the Jews and the Romans became more and more acute, especially with regard to a statue of Caligula which the successor of Vitellius, Petronius, insisted on setting up in the Temple. At the special request of Agrippa, Caligula sent word to the Governor of Syria to have the statue removed, but before the latter reached Jerusalem Caligula had been murdered, and Claudius made Cæsar against his will. At this crisis Agrippa played a conspicuous part. It was greatly due to the personal influence of Agrippa that the election of Claudius was confirmed by both the army and the senate, and accepted by him. This debt was quickly acknowledged by Claudius, who not only re-established Agrippa in the kingdom of the Jews, but sent him back to Jerusalem to take possession of his kingdom, which was extended over a great part of Palestine and Syria, even beyond that of Herod the Great.

The entry of Herod Agrippa into Jerusalem as King was a great event. He quickly showed his strength by removing the whole family of Hanan from the high priesthood, and restoring it to the House of Boethus, with which the Herods were connected by marriage, although this transfer did not last long. Agrippa then devoted his attention to placating the Jews, both the Jews of the main city as well as the Jews of the Temple. He extended the boundaries of the city, enclosing a new district north of the Temple, both the hill known as Bezetha and the large tract of land between that and the palace of Herod the Great. Round this new territory he built a wall, enclosing the whole, taking in the

tower called Psephinos, and extending from the Temple to the palace of Herod. Agrippa was anxious to be as unlike his grandfather as possible. If Josephus may be believed, Agrippa's temper was mild and equally liberal to all men. He was humane to foreigners, and made them sensible of his liberality. He was glad to live in Jerusalem and exactly careful in the observance of the laws of his country. It is not surprising, therefore, to learn that the new sect of the followers of Jesus Christ was displeasing to the new king, who showed his determination to suppress such schism among the Jews by taking one of the leaders of this sect, James, the son of Zebedee, and putting him to death. Simon Peter was thrown into prison, but escaped death. Indeed, this nonconformist Church of the Nazarenes seemed to be, so far as Jerusalem was concerned, only one among many tumultuous uprisings in which politics and religion were mixed up together. The insurrection of Judas the Gaulonite in Galilee, for instance, had not been entirely put down. Now there arose one Theudas, who claimed prophetic power, but was ruthlessly suppressed by the sword. The little Church of Jesus Christ in Jerusalem had been assailed and dispersed by the mob after the murder of Stephen. Some of its members had sought refuge outside the walls. A good number remained, including Simon Peter and the brethren or family of Jesus, who had not believed in Him during His lifetime, but seem to have been converted by His death. In this community James, the brother of Jesus, by right of his near relationship to their Founder, seems to have been the chief leader. Had the Jewish priests left this body of

Nazarenes alone, it is possible that they would have been gradually re-absorbed into orthodox Judaism. Under James, the Church was in rigid conformity with the Mosaic law as to the main formalities of ritual, circumcision, ablutions, and many of the rules followed by the Pharisees. Their dissension with orthodox Judaism lay in the teaching of Jesus Christ, and the claiming of the Kingdom of Heaven for all ranks of life, not even excluding criminals and prostitutes. The communal use of all property was, in itself, a challenge to the wealth of the proud Sadducees and of the priestly families. Still at this date the idea that the love of Almighty God and the benefits of true service to God might be extended to the heathen Gentile had hardly occurred to the minds of a community formed under the shadow of the Temple of Jahweh. So long as they remained in Jerusalem the Church of Christ was a Jewish Church. It required two irresistible impulses to make it Christian—persecution by the King in Jerusalem and the Emperor at Rome, and, above all, the mission of Paul. During the troubles which ensued at Jerusalem the community of Christ was sadly pressed. It was not free from internal dissension, as the teaching of Paul was in certain details unacceptable to the Apostles who remained at Jerusalem, and who derived their authority from Jesus Christ in person. A rival prophet, one Simon of Gitto, arose in Samaria, and the prestige of Jesus Christ was sadly shaken by the teaching and miracles of this new magician. When the troubles in Jerusalem became serious, the community of Christ took warning and removed for safety to Pella on the other side of the Jordan. Its centre

of activity was really transferred to the great Græco-Roman city of Antioch in Syria, which was fast becoming a rival to Jerusalem. Here, Simon Peter, Paul, and Barnabas started their missionary work among the Gentiles, and here at Antioch the followers of Christ separated themselves for good and all from Judaism and were for the first time known as Christians. The early Christians, however, had little or nothing to do with the history of Jerusalem for about three hundred years.

King Agrippa is the last name to shine with any distinction in the history of Jerusalem. Under his rule Judæa and the Jews regained much of the pre-eminence in the world's history which they had attained and lost again at so many intervals. Judaism itself as a religion began to be familiar throughout the world, as then comprised in the Roman Empire, and the synagogue was a conspicuous feature in every city of importance. It even attracted proselytes, although the demands which it made upon them were severe. Jewish traders had penetrated far into the regions about the Euphrates and the Tigris, and in one of these journeys in a province called Adiabene, the queen, Helena, was attracted by the Jewish ritual, and was converted to the faith. Her son, King Izates, eventually followed his mother's example, and later on his brother and successor, Monobazus, although their change of religion was not welcome to their subjects. Helena came and settled in Jerusalem, where she became a benefactress to the city, especially at the time of a great famine. Eventually, Helena erected three pyramid tombs outside the city, in which she and her two sons, Izates and Monobazus, were eventu-

ally buried, and these pyramids existed for many centuries after the destruction of Jerusalem. In the time of Agrippa, indeed, Judaism reached a high level in the teaching of Hillel and of Gamaliel, whose counsel lay in the direction of wise and discreet submission to Rome. Their influence, however, was counterbalanced by that of Shammai and his followers, who refused to bow their necks to Rome, except under compulsion. Their intractable hostility to Rome was not without some excuse. After the death of Tiberius the Roman Cæsars were men either brutal in their pride and cruelty, or weak to the point of incapacity. Caligula, Claudius, Nero, Galba, Otho, Vitellius, appear on the stage and disappear under the knife of the assassin. The evil example of Rome showed itself in the character and behaviour of the representatives who were sent out from Rome to govern the outlying provinces of the Empire.

Unfortunately for Jerusalem the reign of Herod Agrippa I., which promised so well, was cut short, after three years, by his sudden death. His work at Jerusalem was suspended, and his new fortifications, which were displeasing to the Roman government, were never completed. His son, Agrippa, was too young to succeed at once to the throne, so the kingdom was suspended and placed under the control of the Governor of Syria and a procurator as before. A succession of procurators ensued, each one of whom left a name of disrepute in history: Cuspius Fadus, Tiberius Alexander, Cumanus, Antonius Felix, Porcius Festus, Albinus (perhaps the best of the series), and finally Gessius Florus. The last

of these was the nominee of the Emperor Nero, and in the history of Jerusalem, and the Jews, as well as of the Christians, Florus ranks in crime and barbarity with his imperial master. His outrageous government lashed all parties in Judæa, and, indeed, all over Syria and Palestine, from Damascus in the north to Ashkelon and Gaza in the south, and beyond the Jordan to the east, to armed rebellion. King Agrippa II., dependent as he was upon the support of the Romans, and viewing with apprehension the growing and antagonistic forces of sedition which were alive in his dominions, sought to dissuade his subjects from actual rebellion against Roman rule, but without success. The procurator was, on the one hand, unable to control the violent outbreaks, and on the other was continually doing something to increase them. At last, Cestius Gallus, the Governor of Syria, came himself in person at the head of his army to Jerusalem, in order to strike at the heart of the trouble and restore order. It so happened that he arrived before Jerusalem during the annual Feast of Tabernacles, when the city was full of Jews who had come up from the provinces on all sides to celebrate this feast. Stirred up by the leaders of the rebels, the Jews closed the gates of the city and took up arms to defend it against the Roman army. This was tantamount to a declaration of war, and one for which Cestius Gallus was evidently unprepared. To the surprise of the inhabitants in Jerusalem, the Roman army retreated and returned to Syria, in what seemed to be an ignominious flight. Flushed by their success the war party among the Jews gained the upper hand, and a rising against Rome was

organised throughout the whole of King Agrippa's dominions. So serious had the situation become that the Emperor Nero was constrained to send one of his most trusted generals, Vespasianus, with part of the main Roman army to Syria, to put down the Jewish rebellion. Vespasianus was joined by his son Titus. War now began in earnest, and, at first, in the turbulent province of Galilee. Here one of the chief actors on the stage was Josephus, the future historian of the Jews. A native of Jerusalem, connected by descent with the Hasmonean family, Josephus held an important command in the Jewish army, as one of the generals who organised the stubborn resistance to Vespasian and his army in Galilee. This resistance culminated in the long siege of the fortress of Jotopata, a siege almost unrivalled in history for the bravery of its defence, which lasted for forty-seven days, when the fortress was captured and Josephus became a prisoner in the hands of the Romans. To this fact is due the detailed account in history, not only of the war in Galilee, but of the events which ensued at Jerusalem, of which Josephus, then in high favour with the Romans, was an actual eye-witness from the Roman side. The chief rival to Josephus in Galilee was one John of Gischala, the last fortress to be subdued by the Romans in that province, during the siege of which John escaped with a few followers and made his way to Jerusalem. Had John perished in the siege of Gischala, the destruction of Jerusalem and its Temple might never have taken place. When freed from the immediate risk of capture by the Romans, the insurgent forces in the city of Jerusalem began to fight amongst them-

selves. Bandits, robbers and murderers had all been welcomed into the city to resist the Roman attack, and now these ruffians organised themselves into a force strong enough to terrorise the more peaceful inhabitants. They annexed the title of Zealots, and called themselves the Saviours and Deliverers of their country. In this they have found imitators in the twentieth century of our era among the Bolshevik party in Russia. In Jerusalem the Zealots proceeded from crime to crime until at last they penetrated within the precincts of the Temple. Resistance was made with the support of the people by the high priest, Matthias, and the Sanhedrim, led by the high priest, Ananus, or Annas, son of the former high priest, Annas, who lived long enough to see four of his sons and other relatives made high priest, including his son-in-law, Joseph Kaiaphas, who had condemned Jesus Christ. When John of Gischala reached Jerusalem, the struggle in the Temple was at its height and the Zealots hard pressed. By treachery and the deliberate admission of a band of fanatical Idumæan bandits into the Temple, the resistance of the priesthood was overcome, when the high priest, Ananus, and other members of the Sanhedrim fell victims to the bloodthirsty invaders. With Ananus it may be said that the Temple itself began to totter to destruction. Meanwhile the Roman advance on Jerusalem was delayed. At Rome, where Cæsar had stepped on the stage of history and vanished under the steel of an assassin, Vespasian at last was summoned to assume the purple, and his son Titus, soon to be associated with him in the Empire, succeeded to the command

of the Roman army in Syria. The Roman campaign had not been well conducted, and had achieved little of its object. The cumbrous military machine was difficult to move in a strange country, where resistance was aided by nature, and where prolonged operations were difficult. Vespasian, however, ordered Titus to bring the campaign to a conclusion by the capture of Jerusalem, so as to pluck out the heart of the Jewish resistance.

Meanwhile the internecine struggle within Jerusalem continued, aided by debauchery and orgies of the worst description. John of Gischala on one hill, Simon the son of Gioras on another, the defenders of the Temple on a third, were all in deadly conflict, and only united in any way when the Roman army at last appeared before Jerusalem. Then commenced the long, terrible siege, the ghastly details of which are narrated by Josephus, and need not be recorded here. The last Passover celebrated in the national capital of the Jews was marked by one of the worst acts of treachery and bloodshed committed by John of Gischala and his bandits. Meanwhile, the enemy surrounded Jerusalem on all sides. The gardens, orchards, olive-groves, in the valley and on the slopes of the hills, were obliterated, the watercourses stopped and filled with stones. To these days the barrenness of the outskirts of Jerusalem may be traced. In the pages of Josephus posterity can trace the progress of the siege and the topography of Jerusalem; the first attacks on the new city and Bezetha, as enclosed by King Agrippa, the fight for Antonia and the outskirts of the Temple area, the long protracted defence of the

Temple itself with its crowded population, huddled among its corridors and porticoes and chambers above and below ground, ending in that final destruction by fire through the action of the infuriated Roman soldiers, destruction which Titus himself did his best to prevent, but which was inevitable owing to the savagery of both attack and defence. Thence the flames of victory streamed over Ophel and the Akra towards Siloam, involving the capture of the all-important water-supply. Finally Josephus gives a horrible description of the reduction of the Upper City and the citadel of Herod the Great by famine and indiscriminate slaughter. At last, after a siege of from two to three years, in which the gigantic power of Rome for so long tried to hammer down the indomitable and intractable courage of the Jews, in the second year of the reign of Vespasian, on the eighth day of the month Gorphious, in the seventieth year after the death of Jesus Christ, Titus, acclaimed as Imperator, entered what remained of Jerusalem as a conqueror, and a chapter was closed in the history of the world. Jerusalem lay in ruins, the Temple in ashes. With the Temple perished the whole fabric of the hierarchy, which had existed from the days of Aaron and Eli to those of Annas and Kaiaphas. Gone also was the Sanhedrim as a national institution, gone was the kingdom of Judæa. All that remained was the indomitable spirit of the Jewish race, now purified and strengthened by the horrors of internecine strife through which it had passed. The Temple was no more, but had been replaced by the Synagogue, in which the Jewish nationality in race and religion was cultivated with vigour,

and has continued up to the present day. It was no part of the imperial policy of Rome to press too hardly upon the people or religion of any province of the Empire, so long as the required tribute was paid and peaceful submission to Roman rule maintained. Vespasian, Titus, Domitian, Nerva, Trajan, and finally Hadrian, succeeded in succession to the throne of the Cæsars. So long as the Jews, and with them the Christians, who were looked upon as merely a sect of the Jews, did nothing to annoy the Romans, they were left alone, but any attempt to assert themselves, whether genuine or invented by their enemies, was put down with ruthless severity. In spite of this the Jews in various countries, Mesopotamia, Cyprus, and elsewhere, made serious attempts to recover their independence. Then and always the Jew looked to the reconstruction of Jerusalem and the rebuilding of the Temple as the goal of their national desire. At last, Hadrian, in order to punish the whole Jewish race, decided to convert Jerusalem from an independent capital into a Roman colony, and to erect a Temple, dedicated to Jupiter Capitolinus, upon the site of the sanctuary formerly dedicated to Jahweh. This lashed the Jewish race to a new pitch of fury, and a new Messiah and leader arose in the person of one Bar-Coch-ba, the Son of the Star, who, for a time, got possession of the ruins of Jerusalem and reconstructed them as a fortress against the Romans. A fresh siege ensued, with accompanying horrors, in which what remained of the City of David and Solomon finally perished. The Romans were soon masters again of Jerusalem, and when, after a heroic struggle, the neighbouring fortress of Bittir fell,

the long struggle of the Jews against Rome was at an end. Bar-Coch-ba, the Son of the Star, was now known as Bar-Cozba, the Son of a Lie. All hope for Jerusalem and the Temple vanished. The Romans, under Annius Rufus, now razed every building in Jerusalem to the ground, and even ploughed up the ground, in order to make any immediate reconstruction impossible. So perished the City of David and Solomon, of Josiah and Hezekiah, of Judas Maccabeus, and of Herod the Great. Little remained except the three great towers of Herod's palace and citadel, one of which, and, perhaps, the foundations of the other two, exist to a great extent at the present day.

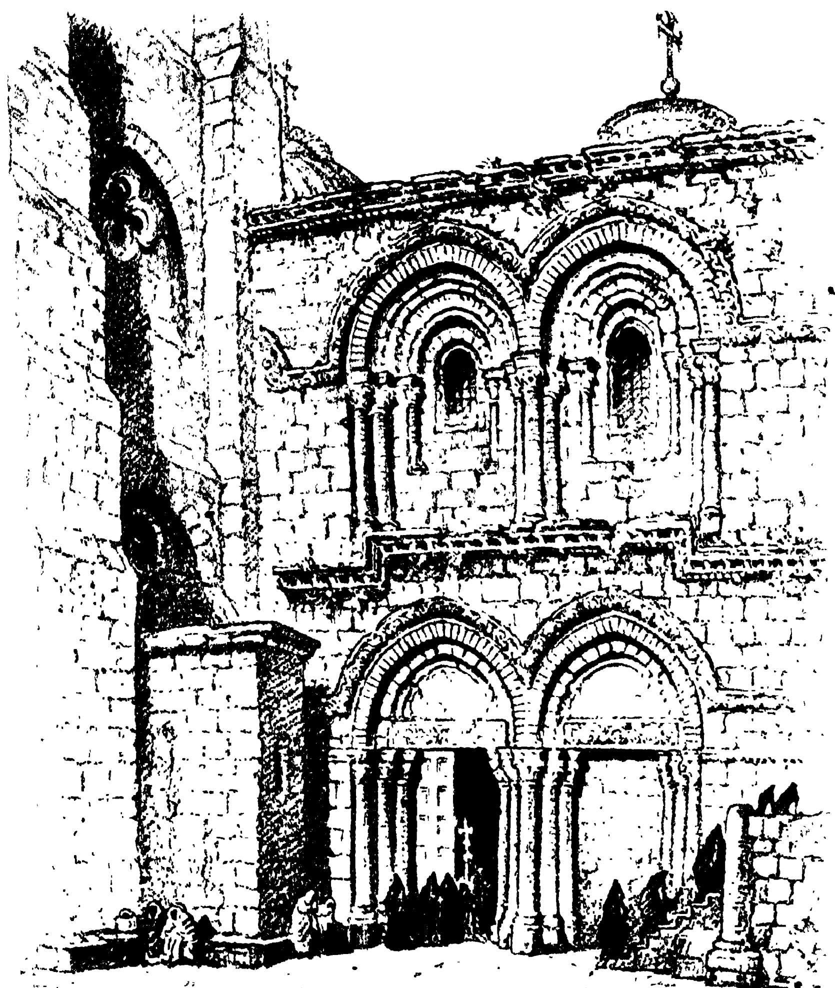
So complete was the destruction, first by the troops of Titus, and forty years later by those of Rufus, that it seems unlikely that even the most pertinacious modern antiquary can hope to find many traces of the successive buildings of the previous 2,000 years. The civil wars within the walls, as well as the deliberate destruction by the enemy, had penetrated even to the subterranean caverns and channels with which the hills of Jerusalem, especially those of the Temple and Ophel, had been and are still honeycombed. Even the sacred tombs of David and Solomon, which had maintained their sacred seclusion almost to the last, appear to have perished in the latest siege under Bar-Coch-ba. The gardens and orchards and olive-groves had all been destroyed, and seem never to have recovered their former beauty or fertility. More than this was to come, for the Emperor Hadrian, besides planning to erect a new city on the site of Jerusalem, issued an edict forbidding a Jew from

entering the city or even settling within its vicinity. The same prohibition did not extend to the Christians, between whom and the Jews the severance was now complete and irremediable. On the ruins of the City of David rose the Roman city of Aelia Capitolina, called after the family of Hadrian and dedicated to the Roman Jupiter of the Capitol, whose shrine now stood on the sacred rock of Araunah, where once had risen the successive temples to Jahweh of Solomon, Zerubbabel, and Herod. For 1,800 years the Jewish race became wanderers in foreign lands, greater perhaps in adversity than in prosperity, but the hope of a return to Jerusalem remained inextinguishable in their hearts.

CHAPTER VIII

THE EMPEROR HADRIAN—AELIA CAPITOLINA—THE JEWS EXPELLED FROM JERUSALEM—SPREAD OF CHRISTIANITY—CONSTANTINE—THE EMPRESS HELENA—PROSPERITY OF JERUSALEM—THE EMPRESS EUDOCIA—THE PERSIAN INVASION—DESTRUCTION IN JERUSALEM—RISE OF ISLAM.

THE proud city of Jerusalem for a time ceased to exist. When in its stead the Emperor Hadrian decided to rebuild it on the lines of a Roman city and fortress, called, after the family name of the Emperor, Aelia Capitolina, this was not a mere act of arrogance and ostentation of power, but one link in the chain of fortified cities which encircled the Roman Empire north and south, east and west. The boundaries of the province of Syria, which included Palestine, had been greatly extended under the Emperor Trajan, and now included Damascus, after the decay of the Nabatæan Arabs, who had ruled there under Roman control. Palestine now ceased for a time to be the marching-ground for hostile armies moving from Syria or Parthia to the south, or from Egypt to the north. All Syria was within the splendid idea of empire which the genius of Hadrian conceived. Owing to its destruction Jerusalem, or Aelia Capitolina, became of less strategical importance than Damascus, Bostra, Gerasa and other outposts in the Roman frontier towards the desert. Like those other cities, Aelia Capitolina was Græco-Roman in design, and, indeed, Hadrian himself



ENTRANCE TO THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE

was as much Greek as Roman in his intellect. A mosaic pavement preserved at Madeba in Transjordania shows a plan of Aelia Capitolina. Conspicuous are the lines of columns along the streets, which intersected the city much as the principal suks do at the present day. It was a feature common to such Roman cities, and is to be found at Sebaste, the Roman city erected on the site of Samaria, and other cities of the same date. Between these columns were set up the shops and bazaars, and some of the columns to be traced in the walls of the streets at the present day may be considered to be the actual remnants of the Roman Aelia Capitolina. The situation of the city was not favourable to the construction of those invariable adjuncts of Roman life under the Empire, the forum, the basilica, the amphitheatre, the baths, and the triumphal arches, although had Aelia been an important military settlement these would have appeared in due course. A temple dedicated to Jupiter Capitolinus was erected on the site of the ancient Temple of the Jews on Mount Moriah. There seems to be little foundation for the story that a temple to Venus was erected on the site of Calvary out of mere spite towards the Christians. It is more probable that the actual site of Calvary was at that date unknown, or known to very few, and that Hadrian did not trouble himself about a matter of so little importance to a pagan emperor.

The wrath of Hadrian was directed against the Jews on account of their obstinate rebellion against the Roman rule, causing the war to be prolonged over three years at great expense to the Empire. Hadrian was determined that this should not occur again, so an imperial edict

was published that no Jew was to be allowed to enter Jerusalem, modified later on to a single visit in each year. Although the Christians had at first been looked upon by the earlier Emperors as a particularly obnoxious and anti-Roman sect of the Jewish nation, and had as such suffered cruelly under Nero, Titus, Domitian, and even Trajan, the doctrines of Christianity had been gradually percolating through the Roman Empire, and reached families of high position, even within the intimate circle of the imperial household. By the time of Hadrian the Christian Church had severed itself almost entirely from Jewish control, although it retained a great part of the doctrine and the ethics which form the foundations of the Mosaic Law. Although the actual expansion of Christianity had not taken place from Jerusalem, but rather from Antioch, the Church at Jerusalem, deriving as it did direct from Jesus Christ, has from the earliest date been regarded as the Mother Church of the Christian religion.

In its earliest days the followers of Jesus Christ had formed themselves into a Church under James, the brother of Jesus, who was the first president or overseer, *episcopus* or bishop, of this little community. James was rather a follower of John the Baptist than of his brother, and pushed the practice and doctrine of the Essenes to a straining point, tending to merge the Christians in the Ebionites, a sect holding extreme views of ritual and life, of asceticism and monasticism, which, if unchecked, would have reduced Christianity to something like the Doukhobors of modern Russia. Simon Peter and John the son of Zebedee had taken up the missionary work

of Christ, but it was Paul and Barnabas who carried the teaching of Jesus Christ into foreign parts, and laid the foundations of the Christian religion as a world-wide power.

Hadrian's edict does not seem to have applied to the Christians, who were allowed to return to Jerusalem. The Roman mind was very tolerant of religions in any form and shape, and another Eastern religion, that of Mithras, was exercising such a power over the Romans, especially over the army, that Christianity seemed to be at the time of little consequence. Whereas, however, the doctrines of Mithraism could without difficulty be adapted to support the personal divinity of the Emperor, the doctrines of the Church of Christ were inflexible in their assertion of a Divine Power which was greater even than that of the Emperor. Even so humane and deeply religious a man as the Emperor Marcus Aurelius recognised in the increasing influence of the Christians a direct challenge to the imperial idea of divinity, and laid a heavy hand upon the Christians, although he himself treated their doctrines with contempt. The murder of the Emperor Commodus, the unworthy son of the pious Marcus Aurelius, in A.D. 192, closed a period in the greatness of Rome and opened one of about a century during which the fabric of the Roman Empire was sorely strained and rent and patched up again. The Syrian frontier was neglected, and it was only the weakness and disunion of the Parthians and of the various tribes in Arabia, which allowed this frontier to remain unbroken. Little or nothing is heard of Aelia Capitolina, but subsequent events prove that the spread

of Christianity was maintained, and that places connected with the life of Jesus as told in the Gospels, which had by this time been edited in their present form, were already regarded with sanctity and had even become places of pilgrimage.

The third century after the Birth of Jesus Christ was uneventful as far as Aelia Capitolina (or Jerusalem) was concerned. More important to the world-history was the rise of the Sassanid dynasty in Persia and the establishment of the Zoroastrian faith as a national religion. Nearer at hand Palmyra and its famous queen, Zenobia, attracted more attention than Jerusalem. The Church at Antioch, under Paul of Samosata, also took a place higher than that at Jerusalem. Under the Emperor Aurelian the religious tendencies of the Roman Empire began to assert themselves against the traditional paganism of Rome, but successive emperors, Decius, Valerian, and even Aurelian, regarded the Christians in much the same light as Marcus Aurelius had before them. Under Diocletian the actual hegemony of the city of Rome was greatly restricted, and the Roman Empire became the one supreme entity in itself. Part of Diocletian's great imperial scheme was the division of the Empire among different Cæsars, as the burden was too much for one man. For the Empire of the West Diocletian selected one Flavius Constantius, an Illyrian officer of humble origin, who by his wife, Helena, was the mother of a son, Constantine, and whose second wife was Theodora, the step-daughter of the Emperor Maximian, another Illyrian of humble birth. Diocletian had continued to persecute the Christians, but Constantius

refused to carry out his edicts. This may have been due to his wife, the Empress Helena. It seems fairly certain that Helena made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem to visit the place where Jesus Christ died and was buried. By this time the Christian Church in Jerusalem had attained some dimensions, and on the lines of the Church at Antioch had established a hierarchy, and a ritual, which was based upon the teaching of Jesus Christ in the four Gospels; but it had for some time been adopting dogmas concerning the Divinity of their Founder. The actual localities where Jesus suffered crucifixion and had been buried before His Resurrection had evidently become well known and revered as a place of pilgrimage before the time when Helena reached Jerusalem. According to tradition Helena carried out further excavations upon this site, which resulted in the discovery of a cavern, in which were lying the three crosses used at Calvary. This discovery, whether genuine or merely traditional, had a very important effect upon the history of Christianity and of Jerusalem in particular. From the date of the visit of Helena Jerusalem became more and more the goal for pilgrims of the Christian Faith from every country.

The circumstances which led to the so-called conversion of Helena's son, the Emperor Constantine, to Christianity are not directly connected with the history of Jerusalem. Constantine was more concerned with the defeat of his colleague in the Empire, Licinius, at Byzantium, the consolidation of the Empire under his own rule, and the foundation of his new capital at Byzantium under the world-famous title of Constantinople.

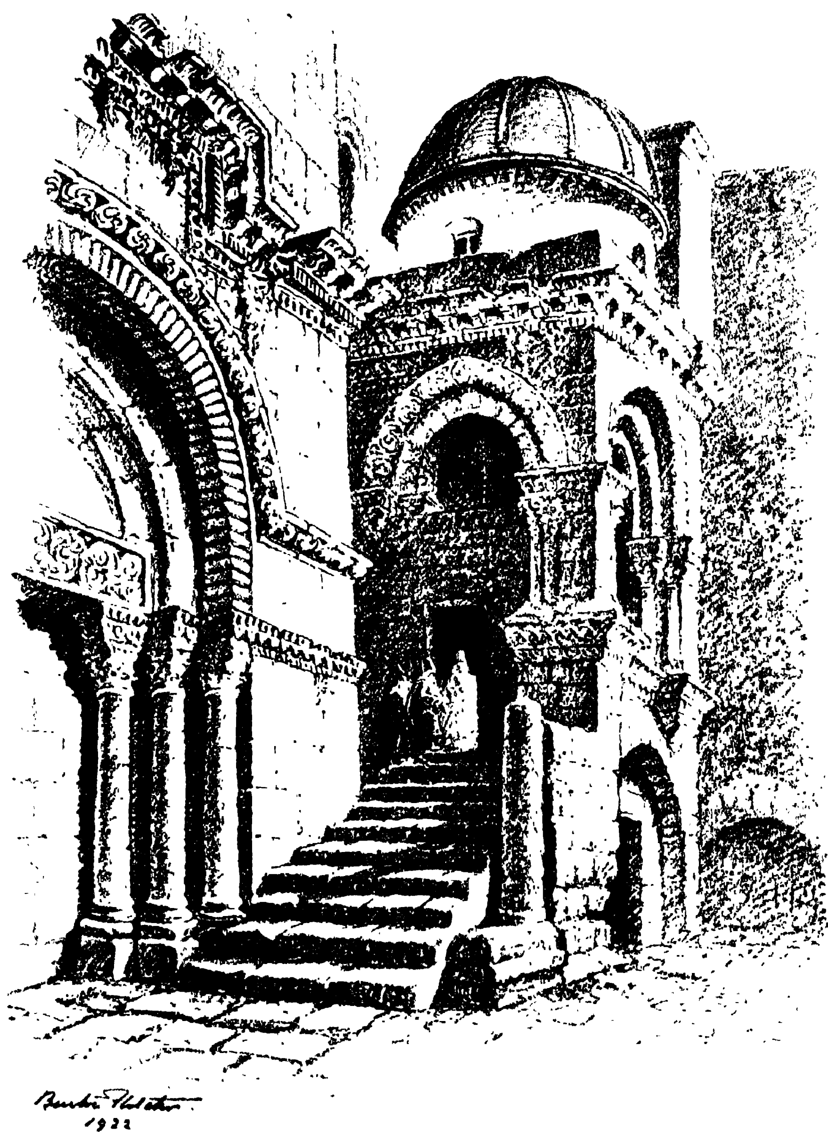
Although the religion of Constantine was a blending of the old paganism, and especially the sun-worship introduced by Aurelian, with the doctrines of Christianity, later in life he became more and more inclined to rely upon the Christian religion as the foundation of his civil and religious government. Constantinople was therefore built as a Christian city. In addition to this Constantine set to work to transform Jerusalem from a Roman into a Christian city. In the course of this work he built over the sites of Calvary, of the Holy Sepulchre, and other spots connected with the crucifixion of Jesus Christ, a great Basilica, with subsidiary buildings, taking all these sites, it may be said, under one roof. He also erected a fine Basilica over the birthplace of Jesus Christ at Bethlehem. It is not possible to give in these pages a detailed description of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the Basilica of the Holy Cross, known as the Martyrion, or the Chapel of the Anastasis or Resurrection. Much has been written upon the subject, and the lines of Constantine's buildings have been traced with great exactitude among the foundations of the various churches which were to be erected in later centuries upon the same site.

Apart from these plans additional information can be gleaned from the existing Church of S. Stefano at Bologna. One of the early pilgrims to Jerusalem in the fourth or fifth century was Petronius, afterwards the Bishop and patron Saint of Bologna. Petronius brought back from Jerusalem careful plans of the churches and other buildings connected with the Holy Sepulchre, and from these a series of connected churches was built

and dedicated to S. Stephen, reproducing the plan of the buildings erected by Constantine.

It was not until he had attained sixty-two years of age that Constantine was converted formally to Christianity, and he marked this event by hard measures against the Jews, who were forbidden again to approach or enter Jerusalem, even for the purpose of the national weeping for their misfortunes. Constantine raised Christianity to be a State religion, and in consequence churches, monasteries, hospices for pilgrims, and similar buildings began to be built in great numbers both in and around the city. The Jews dispersed in Persia, Syria, and elsewhere became more and more at enmity with the Christians. A ray of hope came to the Jews when, after Constantine's death and the relaxation of government which so often accompanies the decease of a strong ruler, the purple mantle fell upon Julian, a step-nephew and son-in-law of Constantine I. Julian was a Greek at heart and a devotee of paganism, although he endeavoured at first to blend both pagan and Christian doctrines into one harmonious whole. In spite of his having no love for the Jews, he saw that he could utilise their services to oust the Christians, whose doctrines for the most part he resented and despised. Soon after his accession to the purple Julian summoned the Jews back to Jerusalem, and handed over to them the site and ruins of the Temple, which the Jews at once began to re-erect. Julian, however, only reigned for three years, and was succeeded by Valentinian, who was more favourably disposed towards Christianity, although his brother and colleague, Valens, was more intolerant of the peculiar

powers of that religion, especially of the spread of monasticism and saintly asceticism. Now that Christianity had become a State religion, its hierarchy became of no little political importance. The Orthodox Church, as at first constituted, was divided into four patriarchates—Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, and Antioch. The famous Arian and Athanasian controversies were at their height, and the Bishop of Jerusalem assisted in a subordinate capacity at the Councils of Ephesus, Constantinople, Nicæa and Chalcedon, at which the opposing doctrines of the single or dual nature of Jesus Christ were discussed with so much acrimony. These, however, only affected Jerusalem incidentally. More important for the future of Jerusalem was the cleavage of the great Roman Empire into two, and the growing importance and domination of Rome. The accession of Theodosius I. in A.D. 379 marked the separation of the Eastern Empire at Constantinople from the Western at Rome. The triumph of Christianity was complete in both empires. From this cleavage, however, dates the separation between the Church of Rome under its Bishop, or Pope, and the Orthodox, or, as more usually called, the Greek church, with its Patriarch at Constantinople. For geographical and other reasons Palestine and Jerusalem came under the sway of the Empire of the East and under its Patriarch. It was a period of great prosperity for Jerusalem. The number of pilgrims increased continually. Monks, nuns, hermits, came to spend their lives in or near the places consecrated to the memory of Jesus Christ. Conspicuous among these was Jerome, who took up his residence in a cell at Bethlehem, where



CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE

Chapel of the Agony of Mary

he completed the Latin version of the Holy Scriptures, which is known as the Vulgate translation and had a very important share in the transmission of the Christian religion. Besides the residences, both private and official, of the Roman governors and their staffs, private houses sprung up around the city on Mount Ophel and elsewhere. A pilgrimage to Jerusalem became a social event. Early in her married life the beautiful, learned Greek wife of the Emperor Theodosius II., born Athenais, the daughter of a Greek philosopher, but received into the Christian Church on her marriage with the Emperor, June 9, A.D. 421, under the name of Eudocia, made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, where she performed many acts of devotion. She paid special reverence to the body and relics of the martyr S. Stephen, which had recently been discovered in miraculous circumstances. On herreturn to Constantinople Eudocia became involved in a series of court intrigues, which caused a breach with her husband, Theodosius II. The Empress therefore returned to Jerusalem. The Emperor, jealous of his wife and suspicious of intrigue, sent his confidential agent, Saturninus, to Jerusalem to spy on his wife, and, if necessary, put her immediate associates to death. Saturninus carried out his master's orders and put to death a priest, Severus, and a deacon, John, who were in the immediate service of the Empress. Once more a woman occupies the stage at Jerusalem. On his informing the Empress of the execution of her friends, Eudocia took up a knife and struck Saturninus dead with her own hands. The breach with the Emperor was now complete, and Eudocia, a discrowned Empress, remained at Jerusalem

in exile for the remainder of her life. There she carried out many works of charity and beneficence, and looms large in the history of Jerusalem. She collected the relics of S. Stephen, and had them re-interred in the grave in which they were found, over which she built a great Basilica dedicated to his memory, and at her own expense. Here she herself was buried, as was also her granddaughter Eudoxia, whose mother had been the wife of the Emperor Valentinian III. Eudocia also built a church on the site of the former palace of Kaiaphas on Mount Ophel, over the cave in which S. Peter had hidden, to weep bitter tears after his denial of Christ. She built a new wall encircling the Pool of Siloam and the Fountain of the Virgin, so as to protect these important sources of life from the attacks of an invader. The Empress Eudocia is one of the brightest figures in the early history of Christian Jerusalem.

For about two hundred years longer Palestine and Jerusalem enjoyed great prosperity under the rule of the Christian Emperors at Constantinople. Palestine Judaism had been driven into exile by the Emperor Theodosius II., and had concentrated itself in Babylonia. Up to the Council of Nicæa the Bishop of Jerusalem, or Aelia Capitolina, had been subordinate to the Metropolitan Bishop of Cæsarea, but in view of the growing importance of Jerusalem in the Christian world, at the Council of Chalcedon in 425 the bishopric was raised to a Patriarchate on the level of those at Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria and Antioch, and on the cleavage with Rome the Patriarch of Jerusalem became one of the four heads of the Orthodox Church in the East. Mean-

while, the colossal fabric of the Roman Empire was creaking and swaying towards its end. The Eastern Emperors at Constantinople were unable to cope with the military and financial needs of their border territories, while the growing power of the newly founded Persian kingdom began to loom as a menace against Roman rule. After the extinction of the Theodosian line in the person of Valentinian III., who married the granddaughter of the Empress Eudocia, the throne of the East at Constantinople was occupied by a series of passing phantoms of imperial rank, while the Empire got slowly weaker and weaker. Encouraged by these signs of obvious weakness in the Roman government, the Jews in Babylonia stirred up the Persians to seize the moment for attack, and drive the Roman-Christian Government out of Syria and Palestine. The Persian king, Khosroes (or Artaxerxes) II., lent a willing ear to the Jews, and in A.D. 614, when Heraclius was Emperor of the East, Khosroes made a descent upon Syria and Palestine, gaining an easy victory over the Romans, until the conqueror arrived before Jerusalem. The city offered, as before, a stout resistance, but after a twenty days' siege the Persians, aided by the Jews, broke into the city and captured it. On this occasion the destruction ordered by the conqueror was worse than that under Titus or Rufus. A special effort was made to destroy utterly all the churches and sacred buildings of the Christian religion. The churches built by Constantine over Calvary and the Holy Sepulchre were levelled to the ground, as were the Basilica of S. Stephen, the Church of S. Peter in Gallicantu, and all the buildings erected

by the Empress Eudocia. The only buildings to survive the Persian fury were the small Church of S. John the Baptist in the city, and the great Basilica of the Nativity at Bethlehem.

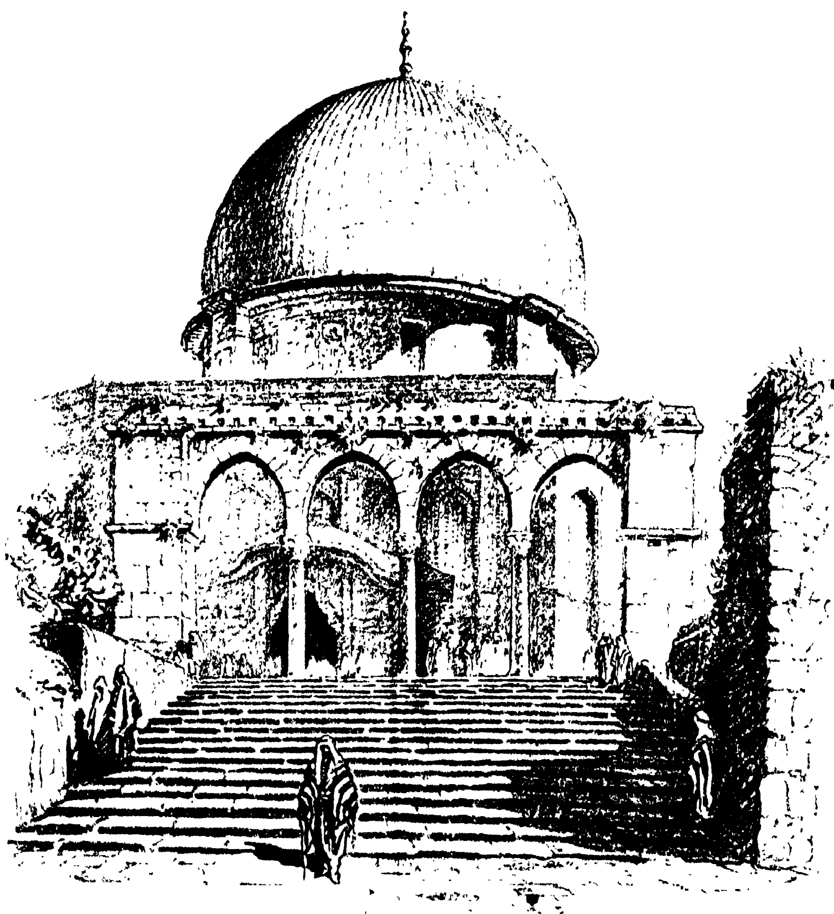
After the work of destruction and spoliation was completed, Khosroes quitted Jerusalem. An attempt was immediately made to raise Jerusalem out of its ashes, but before it could regain its former strength the fate of the Roman Empire had been decided at the battle of the river Yarmuk on August 20, 636, after which Heraclius withdrew the Roman army altogether from Syria. The battle was decisive in many ways for Christianity, Judaism, and even Roman paganism. Islam now stepped into the field as the undoubted and unchallenged ruler in Palestine.

CHAPTER IX

Mohammed—The Faith of Islam—End of the Roman Empire—Omar Captures Jerusalem—The Dome of the Rock—The Haram-esh-Sherif—The Kalifs—The Fatimite Dynasty in Palestine—Ill Treatment of the Christians—The First Crusade—Godfrey de Bouillon Captures Jerusalem—The Christian Rule—The Military Orders—Troubles of the Latin Kingdom—Saladin Captures Jerusalem—The Triumph of Islam.

This is not the place for an account of the rise of Islam under the great prophet, Mohammed. The circumstances, however, of his life have more than one connection with Jerusalem, and should not, therefore, be neglected here. As a boy of twelve Mohammed accompanied his uncle, Abu Talib, on a caravan expedition from Mecca to Damascus. On their way they stopped at what was then the important merchant city of Bozra in the Hauran, where they conversed much with Jewish and Christian residents on the subject of religion. The caravan skirted the shores of the Dead Sea, but it is improbable that they should have crossed the Jordan to visit Jerusalem. The fame of Jerusalem, as a sacred city, imprinted itself at this early age upon the mind of Mohammed. Arabia had no coherent religion among its inhabitants, and at Mecca and elsewhere both Judaism and Christianity were practised, and the holy books in each case familiar to many tribes of the Yemen. Thus Mohammed, among others, learnt by hearsay to reverence

felt seriously by the fast-weakening Roman government in Syria. On Monday, June 8, A.D. 632, when Mohammed the Prophet died at Medina, there had come to birth in the world a new religion and a new empire. The parting for ever with Judaism took place soon after Mohammed had raised his flag at Medina, and a racial antagonism inaugurated which has not abated after 1,500 years. To the Christians Mohammed was less hostile, but before his death on June 8, A.D. 632, he had promulgated as one of the principal tenets of Islam the command to unsheath the sword in the service of Allah and to sweep idolaters and misbelievers from the face of the earth. This command, embodied in one of the Suras of the Koran, may have been intended by Mohammed to apply only to the tribes of Arabia, and was connected with the migration of Oriental races which was eventually to carry the religion of Islam so far afield both east and west. Mohammed had no knowledge of the world outside Arabia and Syria. It is probable that he never set foot in Jerusalem, although the Holy City played so large a part in the birth of Islam. On his early journeys to Bozra and Damascus, Mohammed would have encountered the outposts of the Roman Empire. Before his death he had raised an army and led it himself across the desert on an unfounded report that the Romans were sending an army against the new faith, and from this episode dates the military history of the Muslims. Under Mohammed's successor, or Kalif, Abu Bekr, the sword was drawn, and under the command of the warrior Kalid, the Sword of Allah, an army was sent against the Persians, and after a series of hard-fought battles, the



THE DOME OF THE ROCK (QUBBET-ES-SAKHRA) FROM THE WEST

country of the proud Khosroes, the victor at Jerusalem, was captured and the green flag of the Prophet floated over the Persian capital. The Muslims now prepared to attack the Roman frontier, but with less success, as Heraclius and his army put up a stout resistance. Eventually Kalid, by sweeping across the plains, captured first Bozra, and then Palmyra, and gradually forced the Roman army into the deep valley of the Yarmuk, where in September, A.D. 634, Heraclius was utterly defeated, and the Roman Empire in the East ceased to exist. Syria was in the hands of the Muslims. Damascus was the next city to be captured by them, and the fate of Jerusalem could not be delayed much longer. Meanwhile the Kalif Abu Bekr died and appointed as his successor the other warrior chief, Omar, or Umar, who had once deprived his rival, Kalid, of the command. It was with mixed feelings of hope and anxiety that the inhabitants of Jerusalem received the news of the defeat of Heraclius and his army. Elsewhere in Palestine the relaxation of Roman government was welcomed by the people, while the religious control practised by the Orthodox Church weighed hard upon the Jews of the Diaspora, on the Samaritans, and on the local converts among the Arab races in Palestine. The Christian community in Jerusalem was engaged in an attempt to recuperate from the cruel devastation of shrines and sanctuaries during the Persian invasion of twenty years before, and through the energetic efforts of a monk named Modestus some progress had been made in the restoration of the Church of the Resurrection and the Shrine of Calvary. As one by one the Roman cities of

the Decapolis, Gadara, Gerasa, Pella, Scythopolis, fell into the hands of the Arab invaders, it became only too evident that Jerusalem could hope for no protection from the once mighty arm of Rome. Indeed, this was obvious to the Emperor Heraclius, who withdrew his army northwards to Antioch, and eventually returned himself to Constantinople. Cæsarea, Aelia Capitolina (Jerusalem), Sebaste, and the other Roman cities in Palestine were abandoned to their fate.

It was fortunate for the history of Christianity in particular and of the world at large, that the supreme authority over the new faith and the increasing empire of Islam fell into the hands of a great and wise ruler, Omar (or Umar), who after his succession to the Kalifate had been appointed Governor-General of Syria. For a time the Roman garrison made a sturdy defence against Omar's army, but in A.D. 637, as town after town was captured by the Arabs, the Roman general hastily evacuated Jerusalem and retreated to Egypt. At his request Omar came to Jerusalem in person to receive the surrender of the city and make terms of peace. It was with no flourish of trumpets, no armoured retinue, no squadrons of mounted cavalry that the Kalif arrived at the gate of Jerusalem. Omar himself was a man of the simplest habits, and arrived in rough clothes on a camel with only a few companies, like the most ordinary caravan traveller or camel-driver. Sophronius, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, met him at the gate, and threw himself and his fellow-citizens on the mercy of the Kalif. Omar was a statesman as well as successful general, and was as remarkable in his humanity as his rival general,

Kalid, had been the reverse. Although he was a most uncompromising believer in the faith of Islam as the only religion to be established on the earth, the shrine and home of the prophet Isa (Jesus) were sacred spots, as were those connected with the prophets Abraham and Moses. As no military resistance was offered at Jerusalem the Arab army did not approach it. Omar received the patriarch and they arranged terms together. The Christians were allowed to practise their religion, but not to extend it in any way by proselytising, building churches, or any other action which would in any way conflict with the supreme authority of Islam. Particular humiliation was inflicted upon the Jews, who were to be segregated in every way from contact with the Muslims. These terms were harsh, but humane, because under a fanatical chief such as Kalid, the whole of the Christian and Jewish inhabitants of Jerusalem would probably have been put to the sword.

When the terms of peace were arranged the Kalif entered the Holy City on foot in company with Sophronius. He visited the newly restored Church of the Resurrection, and out of respect for the Holy Prophet, Isa, Omar is said to have bent his knee on entering. He allowed the church to remain, but immediately outside ordered a mosque to be erected, with a minaret from which the voice of the muezzin is still heard daily proclaiming the faith of Islam from above the prayers of the Christians in the church below. This is the true Mosque of Omar. The Kalif visited the famous site of the Temple, on which the pagan Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus was still standing; there the Kalif stood

on the spot sacred to the vision of Mohammed's ascent to heaven. Possibly Omar may have contemplated erecting a mosque over this sacred spot, but the shrine, usually known as the Mosque of Omar, belongs to a later date. Owing also to Omar's restraint and good sense, the great Basilica at Bethlehem over the birthplace of Jesus for the second time escaped destruction. Omar then returned to Medina, but in the following year, A.D. 638, completed the defeat of the Romans in Palestine. Omar must be distinguished from his famous general, Amr ibn al-As, the future conqueror of Egypt. It may be noted that it was the Kalif Omar who commanded the history of his new Empire to date from the actual day of the Hejira, or migration of Mohammed from Mecca to Medina, and that within a few years of this date the Christians had adopted the date of the Birth of Jesus Christ as the beginning of the Christian era. From this date the name of Aelia Capitolina disappears from history: in its stead the Jerusalem of the Jews and the Christians began to be known as Quds-el-Sherif (or el Quds), the Sanctuary, by which name it has been known to the Arabic-speaking races ever since. The Holy City of three religions was safe so long as the Ommyad branch of the Koreishite dynasties held the office of Kalif at Damascus. Jerusalem, indeed, was treated with special reverence, and when, in A.D. 683, the great Abd-el-Melik succeeded to the Kalifate he set to work to make Jerusalem a centre of Mohammedan sanctity, not surpassed by Damascus, or even by Mecca or Medina. The abiding proof of this is the world-famous shrine, which Abd-el-Melik erected over the sacred rock, the Qubbet-el-Sakhra, the Dome

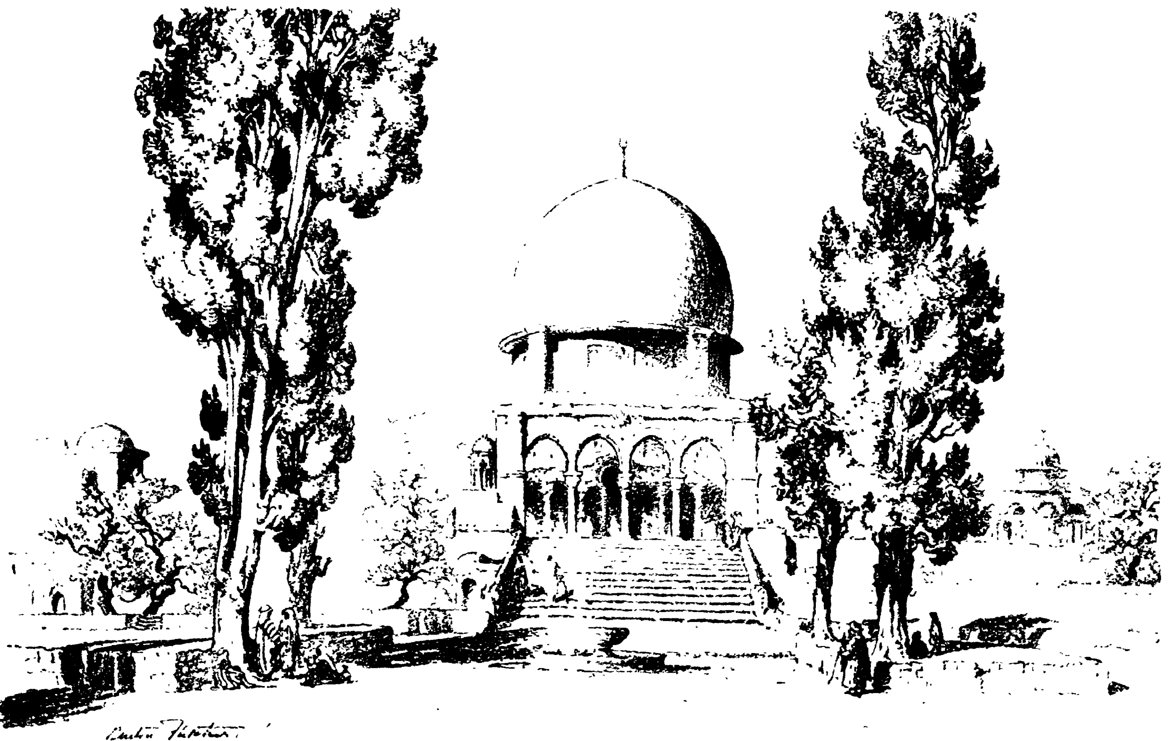
of the Rock, often called in error the Mosque of Omar. This building is not strictly a mosque (masjid), which is a large building, or series of buildings, in which Muslims can meet for prayer, for recitation of the Koran, for public instruction and similar purposes. The Dome of the Rock is a shrine erected over the sacred rock, like the many smaller shrines, or valys, on holy places which dot the hills and valleys of Palestine. The Ommyad rulers were an enlightened and cultivated race, and students of the arts of the Roman Empire. Although they adhered strictly to the artistic prohibitions included by Mohammed in the Koran, the Arabs developed an independent style of art, which, if akin to the Byzantine, yet has a character and grace of its own, and proclaims itself to be an art from the desert. The famous Dome of the Rock is an octagon surmounted by a dome, and obviously based upon the Byzantine school. The external walls were faced with coloured tiles at a much later date. The interior is decorated with mosaics of a very early date, with coloured stucco ornaments. Adjoining this shrine is a smaller shrine of a similar description, though with open sides, known as the Dome of the Chain, and not far off is the Mosque of Aksa (meaning more distant) connected with the vision of Mohammed. This mosque has been supposed to fill the site of the Church of the Panagia, erected by the Emperor Justinian, but is a Saracenic building, constructed out of the materials available after the pagan and early Christian shrines had been destroyed by the Persians. These buildings stand on a raised level at the eastern end of the great platform known as the Haram-es-Sherif, the Noble

Sanctuary. This platform, which is in itself an open-air mosque, covers the site of the former Jewish Temples, and occupies about the same extent as the platform of the Temple of Herod the Great, although there appears at the time of the siege of Titus to have been a space intervening between the outer wall of the Temple and the quarter of Bezetha. The platform is studded with smaller mosques, mihrabs (or praying niches), cisterns, porticoes and the like, among which still survive a few cypresses and olives of great antiquity, all of which obviously belong to the centuries of a later date. Seven gates admit to the sanctuary. Until recently no Christian could set foot in the Haram without special leave and an escort, and a Jew never, although the Jews assert that they cannot cross the Haram themselves without the danger of treading on what was once the site of their Holy of Holies. In recent years these rules have been made less stringent, and strangers are admitted freely to the Haram, except at the hour of prayer. Few restrictions are placed on entering the Dome of the Rock or the Mosque of Aksa, provided certain conventions are observed, but there is a risk in these days that the ever-increasing crowds of tourists, many of them ignorant and irreverent, may induce the Muslim authorities to place further restrictions on admission to the Haram. It is difficult to explain to the modern tourist that the Haram-es-Sherif is a sacred place from end to end, and more akin to St. Paul's Cathedral and Westminster Abbey than to the Crystal Palace or the Tower of London.

The successor of Abd-el-Melik in the Kalifate, Walid, was even more enlightened than his father, and much

of the beauty of the Dome of the Rock, including, perhaps, the mosaics, which at first adorned the exterior, and the Mosque of Aksa was added by him. It was under Walid that the Saracenic art reached its highest pitch, and some of the remarkable Saracenic porticoes and house fronts still to be seen in the streets of Jerusalem may date from the days of Walid, who extended the territories of the Kalif far and wide—in the east to Bokhara, Samarkand, and the frontiers of India; in the west to North Africa, Sicily and Spain. In due course the fortunes of the Ommyads at Damascus began to wane, and in January, A.D. 750, at the battle of the Zab, they were utterly defeated by Abul Abbas, who founded a new dynasty of Kalifs, the Abbassid, who made their headquarters and capital at Baghdad on the Tigris. Although Jerusalem, (el Quds), was not overlooked, for the great Manswi visited the city in A.D. 757, yet, speaking generally, Jerusalem enjoyed a peaceful and prosperous existence under the new Kalifate, and was not concerned in the various internecine warfare between the numerous races or tribes who had adopted the faith of Islam, so long as these struggles were confined to the various tribes of Arabia and the descendants or connections of the Prophet himself. This tolerance lasted so long as the Kalifate lasted at Damascus or Baghdad, and so long as Islam was based on the ethical and not the militant side of Mohammed's teaching. During these centuries the Orthodox Church in Jerusalem continued to cultivate the soil for pilgrims, and the number of places connected with the life and passion of Jesus Christ, and also with His Mother, increased steadily.

Meanwhile the cleavage between the empires of Rome in the West and Constantinople (or Byzantium) in the East continue to widen. Both empires showed signs of weakness, but the Western Empire was the first to disappear under pressure of the Goths. After A.D. 480, the two empires were again united under one head at Constantinople. Rome, however, if deprived of her political hegemony among nations, made up for this by the development of her spiritual ascendency. Indeed, it may be said that Rome recreated the Western Empire in the guise of the Latin Church, while the Eastern Empire remained Greek. Under successive bishops, or Popes, the Church of Rome began to be of world-wide importance. From this time dates the rivalry and hostility to each other of the Latin and Orthodox Churches, which remain unappeased to the present day. The serious divisions in the Orthodox Church, the Nestorian heresy and the Sabellian, which separated the human Jesus from the Divine; the Monophysite heresy of Eutyches, condemned by the Council of Chalcedon but accepted by the Jacobites of Edessa ; the Monothelite heresy of the Maronites—all were causes of weakness and disunion. The Armenian Church was strongly represented at Jerusalem from an early date, and the Copts from Egypt as well. Later on the Georgians from the Caucasus and the Abyssinians established themselves also in Jerusalem. These were all nonconformists as regards the authority of the Greek patriarch, but united against the encroachments of the Latin clergy into their midst. About A.D. 800, Charlemagne founded the Hospice of S. Maria Latina in Jerusalem. The



DOME OF THE ROCK, FROM EL AKSA MOSQUE, WITH THE DOME OF THE CHAIN

Arabs were also rent by religious dissensions, which made them less powerful and less inclined to treat the Christians harshly. Moreover, the Arabs under the Kalifate were accomplished in literary culture, science, mathematics, music and other national qualities, and these accomplishments blended well with the learning of the West.

Once more, however, Palestine was to become the marching-ground for armies from north to south and the reverse. The faith of Islam had penetrated after the time of Omar into Egypt, and had taken strong root there, but in a very fanatical manner. The same applied to the races which had migrated from Tartary and Central Asia, and are generally known as the Turks. Although the Turcomans and others interpreted the faith with less piety, and Jerusalem was not for them of any special sanctity or importance, it was the rivalry between Arab, Turk and Egyptian which endangered the peace of the Holy City. Islam itself was rent into the two great sects of Sunni and Shiah, and it was from a branch of the latter who traced their origin from Ali, the son-in-law of Mohammed and Fatima his wife, that there sprang the Kalifs of Egypt known as the Fatimite dynasty. In A.D. 969, the Fatimite Egyptians invaded Palestine and Syria, defeated the Arabs and inflicted many hardships upon the Christians at Jerusalem. The Sultan el-Hakim, in wild fury, destroyed all the Christian churches in Palestine. They governed Palestine harshly until there arose a new race in the north, called after their father, the Seljuks, who came from Bokhara and Samarkand in Turkestan. Having embraced the faith of Islam the Seljuk Turks swept over Khorassan, Persia, Iraq

and Syria, and captured Jerusalem from the Egyptians in A.D. 1072. The Turks were a militant race and out for earthly, not for spiritual conquest of their enemies. They fought, however, under the banner of Mohammed, and acted on his latest commands as to enforcing the faith by the sword, although to the Tartars and Turcomans the teaching of Islam was really of little account. Jerusalem was the scene of more than one siege, capture and recapture, and the peace under the former Kalifs was destroyed. Quarrels occurred daily between Christians and Muslims, between Greek and Latin Christians. Many pilgrims went in danger of their lives. Among these pilgrims was one Peter, soldier turned hermit, from Picardy, who was deeply impressed by the sufferings of the Christians. The Patriarch, Simeon, told Peter that at the worst God would send the Christians of the West to help the Holy City. These words were the germ of the Crusades. Peter praying before the Holy Sepulchre received a message from the Tomb to tell Pope Urban II. at Rome that the Holy Sepulchre was entrusted by the word of God to the Western Christians. The idea of a Crusade to rescue the Holy Sepulchre from the infidel was not new. Pilgrims of the highest rank had returned with this desire in their hearts; Robert, Duke of Normandy, father of William the Conqueror, in A.D. 1035, Siegfried, Archbishop of Mayence, in 1065. Pope Sylvester II. had preached in favour of it, and so had the great Hildebrand, afterwards Pope Gregory VII. It was left to Pope Urban II., on the initiative of Peter the Hermit, to organise the First Crusade, the main purpose being to relieve the Christians in the East from Muslim

oppression, the secondary object being to plant western feudalism in an eastern land. The Crusades have occupied so much space in history, and so much romance has been attached to them through the famous epic poem by Torquato Tasso, 'Gerusalemme Liberata,' and later by the picturesque handling of this period in fiction by Sir Walter Scott, that it is difficult to treat them from a plain historical point of view. The Crusaders and the age of chivalry seem to be closely connected, and the struggle between the Crescent and the Cross has retained its interest up to the present day. Indeed, the story of the First Crusade and the foundation of the Latin kingdom in Palestine is one in which true history and romance are intermingled without much confusion. When under Papal authority Peter the Hermit travelled far and wide to raise an army sufficient to meet the infidel at the gates of Jerusalem, a motley unwieldy crowd of enthusiasts and adventurers responded to his appeal, and started off at once, as if it were but a simple affair to transport, feed, clothe and arm such an undisciplined mob for an indefinite period. Urban II., foreseeing the possible results of a successful campaign, entrusted the command of the expedition to Boemund of Calabria, son of the famous Robert Guiscard, and to his relative, Tancred. Other feudal lords had vowed to free Jerusalem from the infidel in expiation of their own sins, among these being Godfrey of Bouillon (or Boulogne in the Ardennes) and his brother Baldwin, and Robert, Count of Flanders. Others like Raymond de S. Gilles of Toulouse were unabashed adventurers, as, indeed, were Robert, Duke of Normandy, the son of the Con-

queror, and Stephen de Blois. The Normans were the governing power in the Expedition, which started off in due course to march across country to Jerusalem, taking Constantinople on its way. Into the details of this wonderful march we cannot enter here. In the meantime the Egyptians under Melek-el-Afdah had wrested Jerusalem from the hands of the Turks. Under the skilful leadership of Godfrey de Bouillon the Crusading host at last reached Jerusalem. In June, A.D. 1099, an advanced guard under Tancred was encamped on the Mount of Olives in direct view of the Holy City. The Muslim inhabitants and the Egyptian garrison offered a powerful resistance to the attacks of the besieging army. The siege lasted for forty days, until a breach was made in the walls, and the hero, Godfrey de Bouillon, set foot in Jerusalem as its master. A terrible slaughter ensued of Jews, Muslims and Egyptians, the Christian soldiers wreaking an almost inhuman vengeance upon the unfortunate inhabitants. The less said about this the better. Godfrey himself does not seem to have been responsible for this tragedy. He proceeded at once to the Holy Sepulchre, where he knelt in humble prayer to offer thanks to God for the liberation of this sacred spot. When his friends and his army wished to crown him King of Jerusalem he refused, preferring to remain as Governor, or Duke. Under his wise rule a Christian government was set up in Jerusalem which controlled the greater part of Palestine. Godfrey drew up a draft constitution, known as the Letters of the Holy Sepulchre, which was in later days expanded into a more famous document known as the Assizes of Jerusalem, containing

the usages which Godfrey ordered to be maintained and used in the kingdom of Jerusalem. Unluckily, Godfrey's rule was soon terminated by his death from fever at Jaffa on July 18, A.D. 1100, at the early age of forty. His good work, however, survived, and for eighty years and more no hostile army besieged Jerusalem. Godfrey was succeeded by his brother, Baldwin, who accepted the crown on Christmas Day, 1100, at Bethlehem, as the first Latin King of Jerusalem, one of the four new independent states in Palestine. During the fifty years of the reigns of Baldwin I., his son, Baldwin II., and the latter's widow, Melisande, great work was done by the Crusaders in Palestine and Syria. A new church was built in Jerusalem over the sites of Calvary and the Holy Sepulchre. Another church, dedicated to S. Anne, was built near the northern end of the Haram and over the pool, believed to be that of Bethesda. In the Haram itself the Dome of the Rock was converted into a Christian church, and the Mosque of Aksa also devoted to Christian worship. These buildings were now handed over to a new military order, founded by Baldwin I. in A.D. 1118. The Dome of the Rock (Qubbet-es-Sakra) was consecrated as Templum Solomonis, thus reviving the tradition of King Solomon's original Temple, and from this the new order came to be known as the Knights Templars. The name extended to the Mosque of Aksa, which was adapted by the Christians for the use of the Order, and in connection with this a large building was erected, occupying the site of Solomon's palace. This was at first used by Baldwin as his palace, but he handed it over to the Templars, and transferred his

palace to the large range of buildings in the city now occupied by the Greek patriarchate. Within the Dome of the Rock the Crusaders constructed the beautiful screen of wrought iron which runs round the Rock under the Dome.

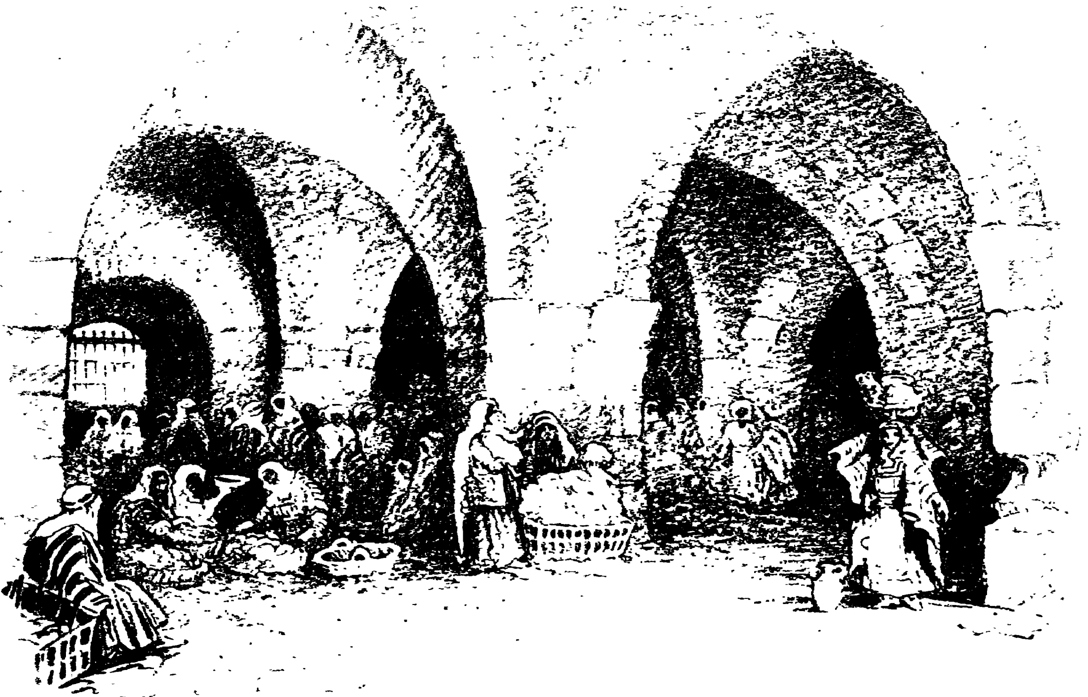
Another great military order was founded a few years earlier than the Templars, the Order of the Knights Hospitallers of S. John of Jerusalem, founded for the care of the sick and poor pilgrims in Jerusalem. This order acquired very extensive property, which was known in later years as the Muristan, just outside the precincts of the Holy Sepulchre. Within these precincts were two churches, the great Church of S. Maria Latina and the Church of S. John the Baptist, the patron saint of the Order, which was one of the few churches which had escaped the fury of the Persians under Khosroes. The ruins of the great Hospice of S. John of Jerusalem still exist at the present day. About fifteen new churches were built for the Latins within the city and about nine outside, and there were in addition the churches already existing of the Greek, Armenian, Syrian and other branches of the Orthodox Church. The Benedictine Order established itself in Jerusalem as early as A.D. 1032. The triumph of the Western Church, the Church of Rome, was for the time complete, as the original Orthodox Church was compelled to submit to the Latin rule.

Meanwhile, the Crusaders extended their territorial powers in Palestine and Syria, and castles, churches and palaces were erected in many places on the coast and in the mountains from north to south, from east to west.

The Crusaders established themselves as feudal chiefs, but whereas some of them were good and honourable men, others became infected by the vices of the East, with avarice, luxury and the lust of warfare. Thus they maintained the Latin kingdom with great difficulty against the various hostile Muslim races which encircled them. Damascus remained uncaptured, and, like Baghdad, Mosul, Aleppo and other large cities became a centre of education and learning, as well as of the arts and literature, which far excelled in historical importance the Christian settlements at Jerusalem and elsewhere. During the first years of the Latin kingdom the relations between Franks and Muslims were in the nature of mutual toleration and good-will, but this was vitiated by the behaviour of later Frank immigrants, so that, when the Latin kingdom began to show signs of weakness, the Muslim races began to make themselves felt, as soon as they were able to unite themselves under one leader. This leader was found in Zangy, or Genghis, Imad-ad-din, who became Atabeg, or prince-regent of Mosul. Under Zangy and his son Nur-ad-Din, the Christians suffered severe defeats, and lost the important city of Edessa. This led to what was known as the Second Crusade in A.D. 1146. Jerusalem itself was not immediately affected by these disasters, although the attempt made by King Baldwin to help the northern Crusaders proved futile, as his son-in-law, Fulke of Anjou (grandfather of King Henry II. of England), was actually captured by Zangy, but released with due honour. The danger to Jerusalem came from the south, from Egypt.

In Egypt the Fatimite dynasty of Kalifs was pursuing

a normal course of disintegration. Egypt became the fighting-ground of Egyptians, Franks and Syrian Muslims. The leader of the Franks was Amalric, or Amaury, younger son of Fulke of Anjou and Queen Melisande, who had become King of Jerusalem in A.D. 1162. The importance of this complicated warfare in Egypt lay in the rise to fame of a young Kurdish leader, Yusuf Salah-ed-Din (Honour of the Faith), more generally known in modern days as Saladin, who eventually raised himself upon the ruins of the Fatimite dynasty to be Sultan of Egypt himself. The troubles of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem increased, as warfare was continuous between the Atabeg princes at Aleppo and Damascus in the north, and with Saladin and the Egyptians in the south. Pope Alexander III. became anxious about the fate of Jerusalem, and many attempts were made towards reunion with the various branches of the Orthodox Church in Jerusalem, which had been compelled to acquiesce, although with only sullen assent, in the supremacy now exercised by the Church of Rome. The Muslim leadership was falling by successive stages into the hands of Saladin, who, when it was in his power to do so, refused to assume the title and dignity of Kalif. As Melek en Nasr, the conquering King, he eventually invaded Palestine. This is not the place to tell of the repulse of Saladin at the battle of Gezer on November 25, A.D. 1177, which saved Jerusalem for the time being, or of the treachery of Renaud de Chatillon in Arabia, which Saladin never forgave, or of the events which led up to the decisive defeat of the Christian forces under Guy de Lusignan, King of Jerusalem and husband of Sybilla, daughter



MARKET IN THE FORMER HOSPICE OF THE KNIGHTS OF ST. JOHN OF JERUSALEM

of King Amaury, at the fatal battle of the Horns of Hattin on July 2, A.D. 1187. In this battle the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem perished in everything except the mere name. Even the sacred relic of the Holy Cross was captured at Hattin and came into the hands of Saladin. In the following September Saladin was before the gates of Jerusalem. Very slight resistance could be offered by the Christians crowded within the walls. On October 1, A.D. 1187, Saladin entered the city without slaughter, or riot, or plundering. So had Omar entered the Holy City in A.D. 636, and so did Allenby in A.D. 1917. Once more the Dome of the Rock became a Muslim shrine, as well as the Haram and the Mosque of Aksa. All traces of Christian worship were removed. A wooden pulpit, or minbar, of A.D. 1186, was sent by order of Saladin from Damascus, and remains in the Dome of the Rock to this day. From that day to this the Haram-esh-Sherif has been one of the most holy sanctuaries of the religion of Islam.

The fall of Jerusalem created widespread mourning and disappointment in Europe. A new Crusade was organised, and on this occasion the Papacy was assisted by the French king, Philip Augustus, the Holy Roman Emperor, Frederick Barbarossa, and King Richard I. of England, the famous Cœur-de-Lion. Frederick, who was the first commander of the Expedition, died before he reached the Holy Land, when his German army melted away. The French and English landed in Palestine and recaptured Acre, but the jealousies and quarrels between them ruined the Crusaders' campaign. King Richard alone gained a series of victories on the

coast, and at the battle of Arsuf did much to wipe out the stigma of the defeat at Hattin. For four years the war between Richard Cœur-de-Lion and Saladin lasted in Palestine, but Richard never set foot in Jerusalem. At last a truce was signed on September 21, A.D. 1192, by which the Christians were allowed for three years to retain certain territory on the seacoast; pilgrims were to be allowed to visit without restraint the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem; and provision was made for the maintenance of Latin priests, both at Jerusalem and at Bethlehem. Saladin had triumphed, but did not survive his victory very long, as he died of fever at Damascus on March 4, A.D. 1193. Among the parting words addressed by him to his son, he told him to beware of bloodshed, and not trust in that, for spilt blood never sleeps; to seek the hearts of his people, and care for them, because he was sent by Allah for their good. Saladin's death, and the disunions which ensued, relieved the Latin kingdom for a time from further destruction. Jerusalem remained in the hands of the Muslims, but elsewhere the Latin power was extended. The struggle between the German Empire and the Papacy in Europe was prejudicial to the success of the Crusaders' campaign in Syria. In A.D. 1218, under the influence of S. Francis of Assisi, the Sultan of Egypt, Melek-el-Kâmel, Saladin's eldest son, was willing to return the Holy City to the Christians, but the Pope insisted on continuing the war in Egypt. The Emperor Frederick II of Germany was an uncompromising opponent of the Papal supremacy, and anxious for his own purposes to come to terms with the Muslims and free Jerusalem. In 1228

Frederick set out on a Crusade of his own, but the Pope Gregory IX. issued an edict of excommunication against him. This prevented the great Christian Order of the Knights Hospitallers from assisting him, and increased the growing power of the German Teutonic Order. Frederick met Melek-el-Kâmel on the coast in a friendly fashion, and a truce was arranged between them on February 20, A.D. 1229, for ten years and ten months, by which Jerusalem, Bethlehem, much of the coast-line, and Nazareth were restored to the Christians, on condition that Jerusalem was not fortified again and that the Haram-esh-Sherif remained a mosque for Islam. No one was pleased at this. The Pope extended his interdict over the Holy City itself and over Acre. Entering the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the first Christian to do so for forty years, Frederick crowned himself, seated on the throne of the Latin kingdom. The truce, however, lasted the prescribed period, in spite of the Papal interdicts. Indeed, the conflict between Pope and Emperor, between Guelf and Ghibelline, contributed to weaken the cause of Christianity in the East. As soon as the truce expired the troubles began again. Both Islam and Christianity were weakened by the constant warfare; and the danger of invasion from the north by the wild Tartar tribes, as well as from the Egyptians in the south, became more and more acute. The storm broke from the north, when the Khwarazmians, a savage tribe of Tartars from the Caspian Sea, swept westward and descended in hordes upon Syria, equally terrible to Muslim as to Christian. Nothing could stop the invasion, which reached to Jerusalem,

where the barbarians massacred the Christian inhabitants, destroyed the churches, violated and robbed the shrines of the Holy Sepulchre, destroyed the holy relics, and even broke up the tombs of Godfrey de Bouillon and his successors. The surging wave passed southwards until it met another wave surging northward from Egypt. At Gaza the united forces of Muslim and Christians were utterly defeated; but after this the Tartar wave surged northwards again, leaving the Egyptians in possession of Jerusalem.

The Crusade under S. Louis IX., King of France, was picturesque in conception, but ineffective in execution and quite futile in result. Louis himself was captured in Egypt by the Sultan, but Saladin's dynasty was near its end. The power had come into the hands of the military forces in Egypt, who were the Memluks, or Mamelukes, sprung from the Caucasian slaves who had been introduced as a fighting force into Egypt. They were under the command of Sultan Rukn ad-din Baybars, a cruel fanatic, and S. Louis had to witness with his own eyes the murder of the Sultan El Muaddem by Baybars and his Mamelukes. A new fighting dynasty then reigned in Egypt, which advanced northwards and challenged the Tartar and Mongol forces in Syria. Between the two forces the weak Latin kingdom was crushed out of existence step by step. A final crusade was organised in A.D. 1270, under Edward Prince of Wales, which reached Palestine and drove back Baybars from Acre and Nazareth, but Edward only succeeded in making another ten years' truce with Baybars. Like Richard Cœur-de-Lion he never reached Jerusalem. Baybars was not a

man to observe a truce too strictly. The Christian cause was left in the hands of the three great military orders, and when on May 18, A.D. 1291, the Egyptians under Mohammed ibn Qalaun and Melek-el-Ashraf captured the town of Acre, S. Jean d'Acre, as it was then known from the Knights Hospitallers of S. John of Jerusalem, who were defending it, the Christian rule in Palestine was destroyed, and the whole of Syria passed under the control of Islam.

The Mameluke Sultans, Baybars and Qalaun, left their mark on Jerusalem, in the Haram-esh-Sherif, on which sprung up shrines and minarets to proclaim the triumph of Islam. One of three shrines or fountains built by the order of the Sultan Qait Bay is of remarkable beauty. Indeed, under the Mameluke government Saracenic Art in every branch attained its highest achievement, in strong contrast to the destructive and inartistic impulses which were introduced by the later Mongol rulers of the East.

CHAPTER X

The Turks Capture Jerusalem—Persecution of the Christians—Return of Jews—The Church of the Holy Sepulchre Destroyed by Fire—Anglican Bishopric in Jerusalem—The Crimean War—Revival of Christianity.

For the next two hundred years or more Jerusalem has no history to record. The great opportunity offered by the wise and statesman-like truce between the Emperor Frederick II. and the Sultan Melek-el-Kâmel had been lost through the insatiable war-policy of the Papacy, and the disunion of the Christian cause in Europe. From the day on which Frederick himself left Palestine the Christian ceased to be a predominant power. But for the action of the Pope a better resistance might have been made against the Mameluke invaders from Egypt. After the capture of S. Jean d'Acre in A.D. 1291, the Mameluke dynasty remained in possession of Jerusalem, the course of history being only marked by the incessant strife between the Egyptians and the ever-increasing Turkish power in the north. The invasion of Syria by the famous Mongol leader, Tamerlane, did not affect Jerusalem. Power was now passing into the hands of the Othman dynasty, which gradually overran Asia Minor, and in 1453 gave the death-blow to the tottering Christian Empire of the West by the capture of Constantinople. The Turks then turned their course to Egypt, and during their progress in

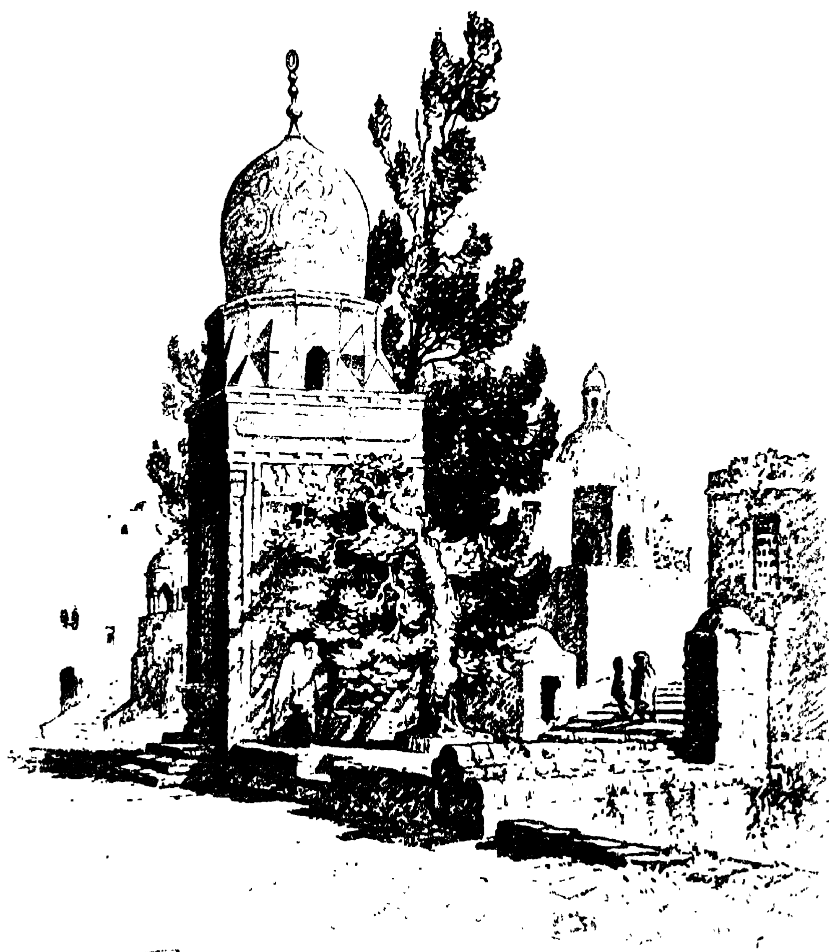
A.D. 1517, the Sultan Selim I. captured Jerusalem from the Egyptians. For 400 uneventful years from that date Palestine and Jerusalem formed part of the dominions of the Ottoman Empire.

Although Jerusalem no longer occupied a position of any military importance, the Sultan Suleiman I. in 1542 rebuilt the walls of the city, which remain to this day very much as he left them. Other works carried out by Suleiman about this date have been assigned to King Solomon of the Jewish kingdom. Jerusalem had become what it will probably always remain, the Holy City, and a place of pilgrimage alike for Christians, Muslims and Jews. After the Turkish occupation in 1517 the edict against the Jews was relaxed, and many Jews returned to live in Jerusalem. Both Jews and Christians existed on sufferance. The old feuds of race and religion were by no means healed, but the peace of Jerusalem was seldom disturbed except by sporadic outbreaks of fanaticism and misgovernment. The Muslim was now firmly established in the area once occupied by the Temple of Solomon, and no amount of wailing by the Jews against the wall outside was able then, or is ever likely to be able, to restore this spot to the worship of Jahweh. Indeed, the Jewish settlement at Safed, in Northern Palestine, for a long time was more important and efficient than that in Jerusalem. As for the Christians in Jerusalem, since the fatal day at S. Jean d'Acre in A.D. 1297, the predominance of the Latin Church of Rome in Jerusalem declined rapidly, while that of the original Orthodox Church regained much of its former importance. The Latin Patriarchate fell

into abeyance, the representation of the Latin Church being vested in the Franciscan Order, the head of which was constituted Padre Custode della Terra Santa; they continued to exercise their functions with conspicuous success until the nineteenth century.

The three great military orders shared the same fate as the Latin kingdom. The Templars, who were originally founded by Baldwin I. in A.D. 1118, to protect pilgrims on their way to and at Jerusalem, had been driven out from the precincts of the Temple by Saladin, and settled for a time in Cyprus. Not being bound by any strict rules of religion, morality or charity, the Order gradually became little more than a band of marauding knights, so that in A.D. 1312, the Order was dissolved by the Pope and disappeared in rather malodorous circumstances. The German Teutonic Order founded at a later date as a branch of the Knights Hospitallers had but a short existence in Jerusalem.

The Knights Hospitallers of S. John of Jerusalem were the last to maintain a hold on the soil of Palestine. When they were driven out of Jerusalem, and their great Hospital was destroyed, the Order established itself at Acre, which was known during their rule as S. Jean d'Acre. It was under the flag of the Knights Hospitallers that the last struggle for the Christian rule in Palestine was conducted against the victorious forces of the Mameluke Sultan Baybars. After their expulsion the Knights Hospitallers established themselves at Rhodes, and later at Malta. It was not until the nineteenth century that the existence of the Order of Knights Hospitallers of S. John of Jerusalem was revived, and the English



FOUNTAIN (OR SEBEEL) OF QAIT BAY, HARAM ESK SHERIF

branch of this famous Order made its reappearance with beneficent results at Jerusalem.

The Latin kingdom of Jerusalem had been an exotic, maintained in trying circumstances and at great expense. The more it blended itself with the life, habits and customs of the East, the more certain it was to perish by internal decay. The Mameluke government which ensued for two centuries was cruel and destructive at the outset, but in Jerusalem itself it showed great activity in rebuilding the city, and many of the fine Saracenic houses which still exist, the great *madrasas* or colleges which line one side of the Haram, and the shrines in the Haram itself, date from the time of the Mamelukes.

The advent of the Turkish Government early in the sixteenth century and its rule for 400 years reduced Jerusalem to a position of second or even third-rate importance as a capital city. It may, indeed, be said that, but for Jerusalem having become the most holy place of pilgrimage for Christians of every denomination, this city would have dropped out of history and remained to the greater part of the human race little better known than Mecca, Kerbela, or Kairwan, or any other holy city of the East. It is, therefore, to Jesus Christ that Jerusalem owes its fame. The Turks were quite alive to this, and, so long as no attempt was made to violate the sanctity of the faith and holy places of Islam, the Turks were content to offer a general toleration for the practice of other religions, all of which they regarded with unmitigated contempt and hatred. These infidels became, in fact, sources of revenue, and a Turkish official knew well how to profit by such opportunities

The Greek Orthodox Church, as Oriental in its general ideas as Islam itself, but divided up into many sects and communities differing only upon some point of doctrine or metaphysics, yet hostile even to extreme violence against those who did not agree with them, was content to live in a state of humiliation and subservience, so long as it was allowed to retain its landed property, and to profit by the annual hordes of pilgrims. The Patriarch of Jerusalem ceased to reside in the Holy City, and exercised his authority from Constantinople.

The Latin Church and its patriarchate had perished at S. Jean d'Acre, and was only represented by the Franciscan Order in Palestine. Less disposed to submit patiently to control by Islam, the Church of Rome never ceased to proclaim itself as the head of the Christian religion and the true protector of the holy places of Christendom. The strife between the Cross and the Crescent was thereby occasionally fanned into flame by extremists on either side. In spite of their good, unselfish work in Palestine and Jerusalem the Franciscans suffered cruelly from time to time, especially under Sultan Suleiman I. They were expelled from their headquarters on Mount Zion and suffered a savage massacre at Nazareth. Yet their faith in their mission remained unquenched, and to the present day the Franciscan convent is a great centre of charity and hospitality for all classes throughout Palestine.

Another result of the Turkish rule was the increased tolerance shown to the Jews, who were allowed to return to Jerusalem by degrees. First came the Sephardim, or the Jews who had been expelled from Spain under the

rule of the Hapsburgs, and then the Ashkenazim, the Jews from Eastern Europe. They were allowed to settle in a special quarter of Jerusalem, and even to renew their wailing and laments outside the wall of the Haram, where parts of the original Temple wall still exist. They were treated with contempt, and ground under the heel of the Turk, and every wail became a spark of religious hatred between the faiths of Jewry and Islam. In this way the Jews maintained a dark and sordid existence at Jerusalem, while each year at the Feast of the Passover the door was left open for the arrival of the long-expected Messiah. At last, in 1664, the Messiah was suddenly proclaimed in the person of a Levantine from Smyrna, named Sabbatai Zevi, who predicted the sovereignty of the Jews in a liberated and restored Jerusalem. This outburst of Zionism spread like wild-fire throughout Jewry in Turkey and elsewhere, and caused so much disturbance that the Sultan, Mohammed IV., interfered by clapping the new Messiah into gaol at Constantinople, while demanding from him some physical test of his Messianic powers. Sabbatai was no Bar-Coch-ba to face the enemy as a hero in battle array. The new Messiah of the Jews actually became a Muslim himself, and thus saved his own skin. Strange to say, the belief in Sabbatai as Messiah has survived in some quarters the exposure of this imposture.

Under the blighting rule of the Turk Jerusalem decayed, and in default of anything like local government the Holy City became a byword, even among the cities of the East, for dirt and disease. It was only in the Christian quarter that any idea of order or cleanliness

prevailed. The Jewish quarter became a Ghetto of unsavoury and ill-omened character. The Muslims in Bezetha and elsewhere combined the Ghetto habits of the settled Canaanite with the free and unlicensed irregularities of the Bedouin. The Christians were a source of revenue to the Turk, and were, therefore, encouraged. The pilgrims from all Christian countries kept on increasing in number, and both the Orthodox and the Latin Churches built huge hospices to give board and lodging to the pilgrims who came under their protection. As the number of pilgrims increased, so did the number of holy places, both within and without the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Once more was Latin pitted against Greek, and the Western Empire of Rome against the Eastern at Constantinople. The Turk looked on in derision, and extracted tribute from all inhabitants of Jerusalem with unrelenting vigour. Into the number and authenticity of the holy places it is not proposed to inquire here. The spiritual life of Christians became enlivened by other motives of a caloric nature than that which a great writer has called "the pure flame first lighted by the sublime mystic of the Galilean hills." The Orthodox Church was not only rent into hostile schisms, but became divided between Greek and Slav, as the Russian power in the East increased and multiplied under the successors of Peter the Great. In Jewry the various sects of Sephardim, Ashkenazim, Khassidim, regarded each other with cordial hatred. Islam itself was not free from such troubles, and the Canaanite and the Arab alike suffered under the iron military rule of the omnipotent Turk, who at the same

time encouraged them in fanaticism and hostility to both the Christians and the Jews.

In 1740 the Pope at Rome obtained from a complaisant Sultan certain privileges for the Latin Church in Palestine. These were immediately countered and nullified by the different branches of the Orthodox Church. The continuous struggle between the Latin and Orthodox Churches in Jerusalem was, indeed, the only occurrence of note during the eighteenth century. The rebellions of the Arab chief Omar-el-Daher in 1749, of his successor Ahmed-el-Jezzar, a Bosnian adventurer, and of the latter's son Abdullah, had some effect in Syria, but did not touch Jerusalem. The same may be said of the invasion by Napoleon Bonaparte in 1799, thwarted at Acre by Sir Sidney Smith. In 1808 a great catastrophe occurred in Jerusalem, when the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was for the greater part destroyed by fire. The restoration of the Sanctuary revived in an acute form the increasing rivalry of the various Christian Churches. Into these unseemly disputes it is unnecessary to inquire here. Whereas an early Christian writer spoke of " Vox quidem dissona, sed una religio," the modern thinker may be more disposed to recall the words of the Roman poet, " Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum."

The dreary featureless government by the Turks was disturbed in 1831 by Palestine becoming once more the fighting-ground between north and south, between the Ottoman Government in Syria and the Egyptians under Mohammed Ali. This remarkable man, an Albanian by birth, had established himself as ruler of

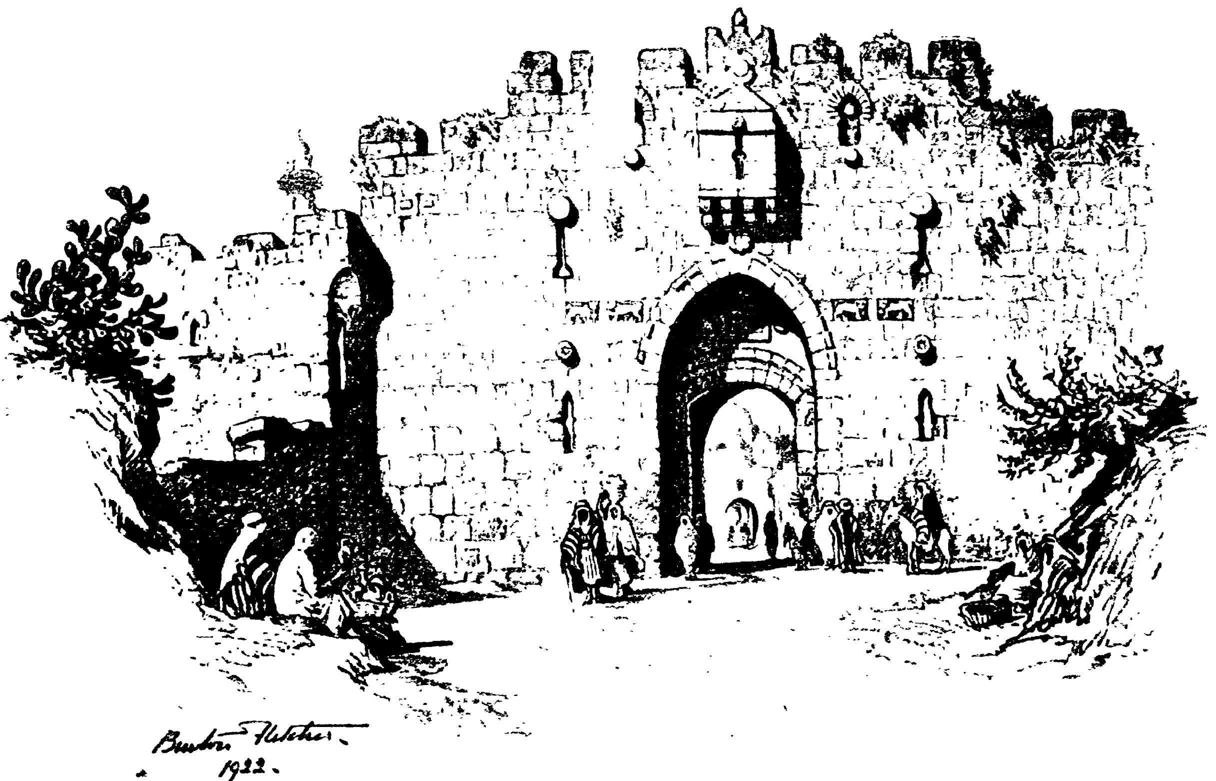
Egypt, and in 1831 Palestine and Syria were invaded by his step-son, Ibrahim Pasha, who occupied among other places Jerusalem. Although the methods of government introduced by Mohammed Ali were hardly in accordance with Western ideas, they were far more advanced and liberal than the Turkish *régime*. In spite of this, and in view of European politics, especially as regarded the growing power of Russia, the British Government thought fit to interfere on behalf of the Sultan of Turkey, and in 1840 Ibrahim was forced to evacuate the country thus occupied. This was the first active interference of England, or Great Britain, in the affairs of Palestine since the Crusades. The Anglican Church, in view of the humiliating aspect of Christianity presented to the world by the strife between the Latin and Greek Churches, thought it time to obtain leave from the Sultan of Turkey to establish a Protestant bishopric in Jerusalem and in the East generally. This was supported by the King of Prussia, and in 1841 a bishopric in Jerusalem was founded jointly by England and Prussia under the supremacy of the Archbishop of Canterbury. The first Anglican bishop was Michael Alexander, who was succeeded in 1846 by Samuel Gobat, whose name is still connected with many good works in Jerusalem. The first arrangement between England and Prussia then lapsed very soon after this date. Meanwhile, the quarrels between the Franciscans, the Greeks and the Armenians became more and more bitter around the building of the Rotunda and the Shrine of the Holy Sepulchre, and also round the Grotto of the Nativity at Bethlehem. In 1851 the French Government took up the cause of the Latin

Church, demanded that the promises of 1740 should be carried out, and that certain privileges relating to the Church and Shrine at Bethlehem should be granted definitely to the Latin Church. The Emperor of Russia interfered in support of the Orthodox Greek Church, and when the Ottoman Government yielded to the pressure of France, Russia took this as an affront to their Emperor and their Church. In spite of concessions made by Turkey to Russia the international quarrel gained force and extended itself to the balance of power in Europe. Great Britain interfered on behalf of Turkey, and although there was no particular concern for Great Britain in this question of the Holy Places, the countries concerned drifted into the Crimean War between Turkey, France and England on the one side and Russia on the other. In this disastrous war Palestine and Jerusalem were but little affected, the chief result being to tighten the Turkish hold on the government of Syria, including Palestine. Palestine, however, in view of the progress of civilisation and the rapid improvement of communications, began to regain some of its importance in the political world. The growth of the British Empire in India, and its consequent transformation of Great Britain into a first-class Mohammedan power, altered the whole balance of power east of the Mediterranean. The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 helped to promote this, and the development of Mesopotamia for trade purposes, as well as of Persia, became necessary for Great Britain as an Oriental ruler. So long as Syria, Palestine, and Egypt remained under the control of the Turk, at that time the friend and ally of England, there was no

need to disturb the situation, so far as the political world was concerned. When, however, in 1882 Great Britain was compelled to take over the government of Egypt the situation remained no longer the same.

In Jerusalem itself, perhaps under pressure from France and England, the Turk began to make some attempt to reform its system of government. Under the much-abused Sultan, Abdul Hamid, a number of improvements were carried out in and about the Holy City. Meanwhile, nearly every Christian denomination was stirred to action. The fact that the Orthodox Greek and the Armenian Church each were governed by a Patriarch, whereas the Latin Church was still only represented by the Franciscans, caused the Pope, Pius IX., to revive the Latin Patriarchate, which had been dormant for more than four hundred years, and the Franciscans became subordinate to the new Latin Patriarch, although the Custodia della Terra Santa was allowed to remain in their hands.

In addition to the Franciscan Hospice for pilgrims, known as the Terra Nova, a hospice was started by the Austrians near the Via Dolorosa, while on the site of the Prætorium of Pontius Pilate the convent of the Sisters of Zion was built. Later on the leading religious orders of the Latin Church made their appearance at Jerusalem. The Dominicans became possessed of the site of the former Basilica of S. Stephen, built by the Empress Eudocia over the tomb of the first Christian martyr, and on this site the Dominicans have erected a great new church and convent. There these fathers have devoted themselves with conspicuous success to a study of the



ST. STEPHEN'S GATE (BAB SITTI MARIAM)

archæology of Palestine, and have by their researches, their lectures, and the use of their library, given much help and much information willingly and freely to tourists and students. The Augustinian fathers of the Assumption erected outside the city, near the new gate opened by the Sultan Abdul Hamid, an immense hospice for pilgrims and visitors, with a French hospital attached. Like the Dominicans these fathers have devoted much time to archæology, and it is through their labours that the sites of the Church of S. Pierre in Gallicantu and the house of the high priest, Kaiaphas, on Mount Ophel have been excavated. Other similar buildings have subsequently been erected by the French and Italians, and at a time when France seemed to be breaking loose from its religious subjection to Rome it seemed as if the heart of the French Church was likely to be transferred to Jerusalem.

In another quarter the Russian Church by imperial help became possessed of extensive property outside the Holy City, and a great hospice and Cathedral were built within a walled compound. A later Russian convent was built close to the precincts of the Holy Sepulchre, encasing some remains of the wall and town gate, which formed part of the second and outer wall of the city at the time of the Crucifixion. Another great Russian convent was built on the Mount of Olives, together with a lofty tower, which is one of the most conspicuous objects in every view of Jerusalem. More recently, another Russian church was built in part of the Garden of Gethsemane.

When the dual bishopric in Jerusalem was terminated

by Russia, the Anglican Church revived the bishopric by itself, and also erected a fine Cathedral with college and school buildings dedicated to S. George the Martyr. This foundation was received with good-will by the Orthodox Patriarch of Jerusalem, and by its independent position and its tactful administration has had a controlling and useful influence over the many other rival Churches in the Holy City.

Once more also, as already noted, the Order of S. John of Jerusalem reappeared on the scene, when the newly-founded English branch of the Order established outside the city overlooking the Valley of Hinnom an Ophthalmic Hospital, which has had the most beneficent effect upon the population not only of Jerusalem, but of Palestine and the Desert, among whom ophthalmia is one of the most prevalent diseases.

One word must be devoted to the small colony of American enthusiasts, founded in 1881 by Mr. Spafford and his wife, which is based upon the original communistic teaching of Jesus Christ, and continues to perform valuable and unselfish work in charity and education. In 1868 an attempt to found an ideal Christian community in Palestine was made by some Germans from Würtemberg, who revived the name of Templar, and one of these colonies was planted near Jerusalem.

CHAPTER XI

RETURN OF THE JEWS—SETTLEMENTS IN PALESTINE—THE GERMAN EMPEROR AT JERUSALEM—THE GREAT WORLD WAR—TURKEY JOINS GERMANY—GENERAL ALLENBY IN PALESTINE—END OF THE TURKISH RULE—THE LIBERATION OF JERUSALEM—THE BRITISH ADMINISTRATION—THE BALFOUR DECLARATION—SIR HERBERT SAMUEL HIGH COMMISSIONER.

THE close of the eighteenth and the opening of the nineteenth century brought about a great revulsion of feeling towards the Jews, who were scattered over the face of the earth. One country after another opened its barriers to the Jewish race, which, by sedulous practice of the science of finance had begun to influence, and was soon to dominate, the commerce of the world in both hemispheres. In some countries, such as England, France, Austria, the Jewish financiers advanced rapidly to the front, established a position in the social hierarchy, and founded clans and families, which by a rigid system of intermarriage tended to consolidate their ever-increasing wealth in the hands of their own people. As the Jews increased in social importance, their sense of nationality became more assertive, and although Jewry is divided up into many sects, differing acutely on many points of dogma and ritual, there were many minds among them which turned towards Jerusalem and Palestine as the only possible home for a reunited Jewish nation. The Diaspora had not prevented the Jews from forming important centres of national life at Safed and Tiberias

in Galilee, and for some generations branches of the Sephardim, or the Jews from Spain, had been allowed to settle in Jerusalem within the walls of the Holy City. There the time-honoured prayers at the Wailing Place outside the Temple area, as well as the annual ritual of the Feast of the Passover, had kept alight from generation to generation the flame which carried with it in their hearts the hope and the belief that at some date the Jewish race would return to Jerusalem, and once more set up the altar of Jahweh upon the historic site of the Temple in place of the Muslim shrine which had usurped its place. In 1831, during the short but more enlightened government of the Egyptians under Mohammed Ali, the Ashkenazim Jews from Northern and Eastern Europe were allowed to return to Jerusalem, where they re-established themselves on terms of rivalry to the more aristocratic Sephardim. Other sects and subdivisions of sects followed, each with its own synagogue. Palestine itself had never recovered from the destruction wrought by the succession of wars which had devastated what was once a fair and fertile land, and under the grinding heel of the Turkish Government the native Arab fellahin were given no encouragement, and indeed little opportunity of raising themselves from the low level of pastoral and social life which had lasted for some thousand years or more. The country, therefore, called for cultivation and development. Through unceasing efforts and generous expenditure on the part of Sir Moses Montefiore, Bart., the return of the Jews to Jerusalem and Palestine was expedited, and new quarters for the immigrant Jews were erected outside Jerusalem. So fast,

indeed, did the Jewish population increase, that it became plunged into distress, and had to be saved from extinction through actual famine by the help of Christian and Muslim friends. These early efforts did not, however, partake of any political significance, nor did the establishment of Jewish colonies in different parts of Palestine, which were inaugurated about 1880 by Baron Edmond de Rothschild and other enthusiasts. It was not until 1897 that at a Congress of Jews, an Austrian Jew, Theodor Herzl, launched the political movement known as Zionism, having as its object a legally secured, publicly recognised home for the Jewish people in Palestine. The great idea dormant in the hearts of the Jewish race, since the Diaspora, of a return as a nation to Palestine, thus broke into bloom and was in some quarters most fervently welcomed.

Concurrently with the reawakening of Jewish nationalism, there arose another and greater development of nationality in the German Empire. From the time of the Crusades up to the nineteenth century, the Christian protectorate of the Holy Places in Palestine had been assumed by the Church of Rome, and for a long time delegated by the Vatican to the King of France, who for generations enjoyed the title of the Most Christian King. Napoleon sought to revive this protectorate after the French Revolution, but the collapse of the French monarchy and of the Second Empire, as well as the religious feud between the Vatican and the republican government in France, left the protectorate of the Holy Places like an undefended citadel. The German rulers were not slow in remarking this, and after

the constitution of the German Empire in 1870 and the temporary obliteration of France as a power in Europe, it became part of the German policy to wean the Turkish Government away from that alliance with Great Britain which had sustained Turkey through so many of its troubles. This was rendered easier by the attitude adopted by the Liberal Government in England, and the anti-Turkish policy advocated and practised by the extreme Christians throughout the Anglo-Saxon world. The result was felt in Jerusalem, where the Sultan Abdul Aziz, in 1869, began to make successive grants of land to the kingdom of Prussia, and German commerce, German colonists, German buildings, were not long in making themselves felt and evident within the precincts of the Holy City. Later on Sultan Abdul Hamid, who showed no small capacity in the administration of his Syrian provinces, had been forced into enmity with England, and so lent a willing ear to the blandishments of Germany. It was not, however, until the accession of William II. as German Emperor in 1888, that the advance of Germany in what is generally known as the Middle East became a serious factor in European politics. Fired by a romantic belief in himself as the reincarnation of the Crusader spirit, anxious to don the mantle, temporarily discarded by France, of the Most Christian King, and, above all, jealous to vindictiveness of the supremacy of Great Britain in the councils of the East and of the ever-extending might of the British Empire, the German Emperor grasped the geographical and historical importance of Palestine as the gangway of commerce to the East, and the great future which might await Germany as the

governing power in Asia Minor and Mesopotamia. For this purpose, with its blend of religious, political, military and commercial motives, Jerusalem presented itself as a central pivot from which a counterstroke might be made against Great Britain in India, in Egypt, and the Sudan in one direction, against France in Syria in another, and, more important of all at the moment, against Russia and the predominance of the Orthodox Church.

The Emperor therefore set to work to create outward and visible signs of the dominating power of the German Empire. On the ground in the Muristan, once the property of the Knights Hospitallers of S. John of Jerusalem, a new Lutheran Church was built on the site of the former Church of S. Maria Latina, with a pastor's residence adjoining, in which were incorporated the remains of the older church and cloister. In order to appease his own Roman Catholic subjects, and to gain the support of the Papacy, the Emperor built on the hill of Zion a great church and convent, dedicated to the Dormition of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and allotted to the German Benedictine Order of monks. In 1898, the Emperor William II. accomplished his long cherished wish to visit the Holy Land in person, in his newly assumed office of the Most Christian Sovereign. It was not as a mere Prussian monarch that he wished to enter Jerusalem, but as a second Godfrey de Bouillon or Baldwin I., the Champion of the Cross and the Saviour of Christianity. The entry into the Holy City was to be in the nature of a triumph, and for the better display of this spectacle a portion of the old wall between the Citadel and the Jaffa Gate had to be demolished and a

new road of entrance made for the modern Crusader, who in due course rode in on a white charger clothed in the panoply of the Middle Ages. While in Jerusalem the Emperor inaugurated in person the new Lutheran Church of the Redeemer in the Muristan. Jerusalem seemed to lie at the feet of Germany, and to be destined to become a suburb of Berlin. After his departure German trade and German buildings grew apace. Drawing upon the purses of obsequious financial magnates in the Fatherland, the German Emperor had built on Mount Scopus a vast group of buildings, intended on the face of it as a hospice for German travellers and pilgrims, in the name of his imperial consort, Augusta Victoria. This building, a solid massive bulk of stone, surmounted by a lofty tower, is now one of the most conspicuous objects, not only in or near Jerusalem, but from many parts of Palestine, and, together with the tower of the Lutheran Church overtopping the Holy Sepulchre and the great church of the Dormition on Mount Zion, denoted for a time the triumph of the Germans as builders and the predominant power in Jerusalem. Outside the Damascus Gate rose another great hospice, dedicated to S. Paul, and on the site where the Crusading Emperor had pitched his camp was built a residence for the future German Pastor in Jerusalem.

Meanwhile, other nations had not been blind to the renewed importance of Jerusalem as a world-centre, although, so long as the Ottoman Government in Turkey remained in power, the political significance of Jerusalem was considered of less importance than its religious. The erection of an Anglican Cathedral dedicated to



DAMASCUS GATE (BAB-EL-AMUD) FROM THE CITY

S. George, with residences for a Bishop and Chapter, and in addition to this a college and a school for the education of native boys and girls, the architecture of which, as designed by Mr. George Jeffrey, is perhaps the most satisfactory example, up-to-date, of all the modern buildings which have been erected in or about Jerusalem during the last fifty years, brought a new religious atmosphere into the life of Jerusalem. The Russian Church, as distinct from the Orthodox Greek Church, extended and improved its churches and hospices within and without the walls. The great buildings erected by the religious orders of the Latin Church have been alluded to already. In quite recent years a new Italian Hospital and an Abyssinian convent have been built, which are now conspicuous features in the new Jerusalem outside the walls. Further west lies a new Jewish quarter, surmounted by the great building, known as Bezaleel, dedicated to the arts and industries of modern Jewry. Within the walls of the Holy City itself there was but little change, and the dirt and general insalubrity of a crowded Eastern town remained only too painfully evident and repellent to the stranger.

Such was the expanding life in Jerusalem among the various and discordant denominations of the Christian religion. The Muslim looked on contemptuously, and the Turk employed his soldiers to keep the peace and prevent Christians from injuring and even murdering each other. Under Sultan Abdul Hamid something resembling progress and reform had been started in Jerusalem, and a new gate was opened in the walls for the convenience of the greater Jerusalem growing up so

rapidly outside. The fall of Abdul Hamid and the accession of the Young Turk party of Union and Progress to power at Constantinople arrested this work and was the signal for a shifting of Muslim sympathy and allegiance from Great Britain and Russia in the direction of Germany. Then, on August 4, 1914, the match was put to the furnace, and in a few months the greater part of the world was at war or struggling to avoid being drawn into it. At first the position of Turkey was in doubt, but not many months had elapsed before Turkey had thrown in its lot with Germany, and the Middle East was involved once again in the clash and turmoil of an apparently boundless war. It was now revealed that the secret understanding between Germany and Turkey had been established for some time before the war, and that Turkey only held back in apparent hesitation until Germany gave the signal for intervention. The strategical importance of Palestine became at once only too evident. Relying on the Turkish authority over the Arabs in Palestine and along the new railway line from Damascus to Medina, Mecca and the Red Sea, as well as the new though still incomplete line to Baghdad and the Persian Gulf, the German military command developed a long-considered campaign against British power in the East. If the combined forces on land and sea enabled Great Britain, France and Italy to control the Mediterranean, Adriatic and Ægean Seas, it seemed feasible to strike at Great Britain through Palestine at the Suez Canal, through Arabia Petrea to the Red Sea at Aden, and through Mesopotamia to the Persian Gulf, thus severing at three vital points the links between

Great Britain and her Indian Empire. Jerusalem was the centre from which the first attack could be launched, and in a short time the Holy City and its suburbs were turned into a military depot for the combined Turkish and German army. The Arabs in Palestine were compelled to serve in this army. British residents in Jerusalem and Palestine, and also the Patriarchs and representatives of the Christian religion, were arrested, transported and imprisoned, in some cases driven on foot for many days of starvation and suffering to confinement at Damascus and elsewhere. Guns, munitions, aeroplanes, and all the accessories of modern warfare were poured into Jerusalem, and passed thence to the headquarters at Gaza, Beersheba, Maan or elsewhere. Djemal Pasha, the Turkish general, made his headquarters in Jerusalem, and ruled with a rod of iron over Arab, Jew and Christian. The German High Command under General von Falkenhayn saw to the Turk doing his duty as their ally.

The history of this campaign cannot be written here, how by most consummate generalship the Turkish army was enabled to advance into Egyptian territory across the desert which intervened, until they actually reached, in a few cases even crossed, the Suez Canal; how this attack was repulsed and was never repeated; how the Turks under their German leaders held up the British forces more than once at or near Gaza; how General Allenby took over the command of the British forces; how the British under General Chetwode circumvented the Turkish army in the desert and captured their vital headquarters at Beersheba on October 31, 1917. Of all these events but scanty information seems to have

reached Jerusalem. More important, perhaps, to that city was the revolt against the Turkish government in the Hejaz and the assumption of royal power by the Sherif Hussein in the Holy City of Mecca. This involved for the Turkish army a constant use for military purposes of the railway line from Damascus on the far side of the Jordan to support the Turkish garrison in Medina. Then the resistance at Gaza was broken through, and the Germano-Turkish forces fell back stage by stage upon Jerusalem, while the British and Australians swept up the coastline of ancient Philistia to Jaffa and beyond. Then at last the British army turned towards Jerusalem, where the Turkish army was ready to meet them in the hills of Judæa. A brave but futile resistance to the attacking forces was made, chiefly concentrated about the Valley of Ajalon and the heights of the two Beth-Horons, where Joshua had gained his victory, and about the hill of Neby Samwil, the reputed burial-place of the prophet Samuel, and, perhaps, the strongest position in Palestine. Flanking movements about Bethlehem threatened the retreat of the Turks to the Jordan. Then in Jerusalem itself a wonderful change took place, and the oppressed and bewildered inhabitants breathed again. First the Germans packed up and very suddenly went north to a safer headquarters in Galilee, leaving their Turkish allies to their fate. Next, as the Turkish soldiers retreated from their defeat at Neby Samwil, after a hurried visit from Enver Pasha, Djemal Pasha and his staff were off down to Jericho and the Jordan Valley and across to the mountains of Moab and Gilead, where the Hejaz railway connected Damascus with Medina.

The Liberation of Jerusalem

One afternoon two British soldiers out on observation duty near Lifta saw a small company of people approaching them holding a white flag. They were headed by the Mayor of Jerusalem, the Chief of Police, and two gendarmes, who were conducted to the nearest officer, a gunner of the R.F.A., and by him to Brigadier-General Watson, who passed them on to General Shea, Commander of the 60th Division of London Territorial Regiments. Meanwhile, General Watson and another officer rode up to the Jaffa Gate of the Holy City, which the Turkish forces were in the act of evacuating. He was followed by General Shea, as deputy of the Commander-in-Chief, and he entered the Holy City formally with an aide-de-camp and a guard of honour, when he received from the Mayor of Jerusalem the surrender of the city. This was at 12.30 p.m. on December 9, 1917. Instructions were at once given for the maintenance of order within the city and for security against attacks by the retreating enemy. Not one life was lost among the inhabitants, and not the slightest damage was done to any buildings within the walls of the Holy City. The capture of Jerusalem and its liberation from the Turkish rule, which had lasted for 400 years, was one of the most important victories gained by the Allies during the Great War. The significance of this event will be recorded in later history rather than understood immediately. The Turks had still to be driven from the Mount of Olives, from Bethany, from Ramallah on the road north to Nablus, and from Tulkeram, their headquarters commanding the plain and Galilee. When this was accomplished the safety of Jerusalem was secured.

Meanwhile, on December 11, the Commander-in-Chief, General Allenby, entered the Holy City quietly on foot, attended by his staff, passing through the Jaffa Gate, which now was worthy of its Arab name, Bab-el-Khalil, the Gate of the Friend. There was no need of breaking down the walls, no need of a white charger or a Crusader's panoply of mail; in the simple khaki uniform of a British General the Commander-in-Chief entered the city and proceeded to the steps of the Citadel, whence was read the Proclamation promising the protection of the British Empire to the inhabitants of Jerusalem the Blessed; concluding with the memorable words on which the policy of the new government was to be founded:

"Furthermore, since your City is regarded with affection by the adherents of three of the great religions of mankind, and its soil has been consecrated by the prayers and pilgrimages of multitudes of devout people of these three religions for many centuries, therefore do I make it known to you that every sacred building, monument, holy spot, shrine, traditional site, endowment, or customary place of prayer, of whatsoever form of the three religions, will be maintained and protected according to the existing customs and beliefs of those to whose faiths they are sacred."

In these words of solemn meaning the city of Jerusalem, the royal city of David, of Solomon, of Hezekiah, of Judas Maccabeus, of Herod the Great and Herod Agrippa, of Constantine, of Godfrey de Bouillon and Baldwin, of Saladin, passed under the sovereignty of George V., King of Great Britain.

Allenby's task was by no means over. Defeated as they had been, and driven back from the Egyptian

frontier to the northern hills of Ephraim and Galilee and the valley of the Jordan, the Turks proved themselves a brave and formidable enemy, and one unwilling to acknowledge defeat. No less than thirteen attempts to recapture Jerusalem were made by the Turkish army before the end of the year, and although the failure of these attacks made the city of Jerusalem absolutely secure, it was not until some months had elapsed that the wonderful campaign conceived by General Allenby and his staff, and carried out by the remarkable troops under his command, dealt the final blow to Turkish government in Palestine. In this campaign Jerusalem took but little active part, but as to all appearance arrangements were being made at Jerusalem for a renewed offensive across the Jordan towards Amman and the Hejaz railway, on which the support of the Turkish army in Arabia depended, the inhabitants of Jerusalem in September, 1918, were as much startled as the Turkish command was by the news that Allenby's cavalry had swept up through Galilee to Beisan and across the Jordan towards Damascus, followed quickly by the capture of Aleppo and Damascus and the complete destruction of three great Turkish armies.

Jerusalem immediately after its capture was placed under a military administration; Mr. Ronald Storrs, Oriental Secretary to the British Residency in Cairo, was appointed Military Governor of Jerusalem. The Military Administration of Palestine was established in the great imperial German Hospice on Mount Scopus, where the German Emperor in Crusader's armour and his consort gaze daily upon the wreckage of the vast

scheme of German hegemony in the East, and the triumph of their greatest enemy, the British Empire.

Another German building, the Lazarist Hospice of S. Paul outside the Damascus Gate, afforded a home for the Governorate of Jerusalem itself. The city, indeed, was in great straits. The water-supply, precarious at all times through history, was in a terrible condition. Food had for weeks been getting scantier, and as the greater part had been commandeered for the Turkish and German armies, the inhabitants had actually passed the brink of starvation. Indeed, this must have continued to get worse, as all sources of supply were cut off, but for the extreme generosity of the British army. No sanitary arrangements existed within the walls of the Holy City, and filth and disease were lurking at every street corner. Many houses had been used as barracks and stores for the army, and destroyed when the Turks and Germans bolted from the city. The Ophthalmic Hospital, belonging to the Order of S. John of Jerusalem, had been used as an arsenal and was deliberately wrecked by the Turks.

In a few weeks under Governor Storrs much of the suffering had been remedied, and the place cleaned up and made healthy enough for European occupation. This was mainly the work of the British soldiers, and their value was tested to a special degree during the great snowstorm of February, 1920, when Jerusalem and its suburbs were buried for some weeks under several feet of snow. Since then the good work of restoring and reclaiming the Holy City has continued, and the records of the Pro-Jerusalem Society, founded by Governor



THE MOUNT OF OLIVES FROM OLD WELL ON THE ROAD TO BETHANY

Storrs, testify to the beneficial results attained during the last few years under British rule.

Jerusalem lived again, and on the day when General Allenby stood on the steps of the Citadel and proclaimed the triumph of the Allies, Christians, Jews and Muslims joined in thanks and rejoicing at their liberation from the cruel and unsympathetic government of the Turks. A new era had dawned for all, but there were already clouds on the horizon. On November 2, 1917, the day upon which General Allenby's forces entered Gaza, the British Government, in the name of the Foreign Secretary, Mr. Arthur Balfour, issued a Declaration to the effect that "His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavour to facilitate the achievement of that object, it being understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by the Jews in any other country."

So long as an active state of war existed between the Allies and Turkey this Declaration, usually known as the Balfour Declaration, could not be put into actual force, since the territory of Palestine was nothing more than occupied enemy territory. The Jews, however, hailed the Declaration as equivalent to handing over the whole country of Palestine at once to a Jewish government, with Jerusalem as its capital city, and they began at once to act in accordance with the Declaration. The Palestinian Arabs, who were Turkish subjects, and as such compelled to serve in the ranks of the Turkish army,

had welcomed their liberation through the British army, but had not expected to find that liberation from the Turk was equivalent to subjection to the Jews, a race whom they hated and despised. The Arabs from the Hejaz, who formed that extraordinarily mobile army which, under the inspired leadership of Col. T. E. Lawrence, harassed and worried the Turkish army along its vital line of communication from Damascus to Medina, and thereby was an essential factor in the capture of Damascus and the complete defeat of the Turks in Transjordania, had been led to believe that liberation from the Turks meant for them an united Arabian Empire, in which Syria and Palestine would, as a matter of course, be incorporated. For them the Balfour Declaration amounted to a breach of faith. Subsequent events showed that the British Government intended the Declaration to be taken seriously, and after hostilities had ceased it was agreed at a Supreme Council of the Allied Powers, held at San Remo in April, 1920, that Great Britain should be entrusted with a Mandate to govern Palestine, and the Balfour Declaration was embodied in the Treaty of Sèvres between Turkey and the Allies, which, although signed on August 10, 1919, proved to be a dead letter and was never actually ratified. The Military Administration of Palestine then came to an end and was succeeded on July 1, 1920, by a Civil Administration under the Right Hon. Sir Herbert Samuel, G.B.E., as High Commissioner for Palestine. It was not, however, until July 24, 1922, that the actual Mandate for Palestine was approved by the League of Nations in London.

Up to the time of the Great War the migration of Jews into Palestine had been encouraged by the Turkish Government, because the various Jewish settlements, founded by Baron Edmond de Rothschild and others, had been of great benefit to Palestine, and had shown that by a proper expenditure of labour and money it would be possible to restore a great part of Palestine to its former prosperity and wealth. Under the Turkish Government no political significance was attached to the numerous settlements of the Jews. The situation was entirely changed by the Balfour Declaration, which at once set up Jews and Arabs as actual as well as historical enemies, and this was shown by a series of riots between Arabs and Jews in Jerusalem and Jaffa, sometimes resulting in loss of life. The aggressive claims of the Jewish, or Zionist, organisation excited the fears of the Christian communities in the Holy City, which has resulted in a curious alliance between Muslims and Christians in steady, dogged opposition to the realisation of the supposed meaning of the Balfour Declaration. The study of even so rapid and restricted a sketch as this of the history of Palestine must cause some sense of surprise that in the Balfour Declaration, and the subsequent Mandate which expanded it and put it into force, Jewish supremacy should be claimed for provinces like Philistia and Phœnicia of old, whereas even the United Kingdom of Israel under David and Solomon had not extended beyond the Shephelah hills, which surmount the seacoast and the adjoining plains; and also for Galilee, which had never been really a Jewish province, although in later years the Jewish settlements at Safed and Tiberias

had attained almost the characteristics of a national home in themselves. Also in such important cities as Hebron and Nablus the Jewish race was hardly existent except on a precarious basis of toleration.

Another cause for dissension was the appointment of a Jew to the post of High Commissioner of Palestine, but Sir Herbert Samuel soon showed himself to be a trained and sagacious statesman, and one who, even if it would be his duty to carry out the Mandate and the terms of the Balfour Declaration, was prepared to do this in strict conformity with the text of the Declaration, which really involved a contradiction in terms, rendering it almost inoperative. In Jerusalem itself the effect of the Declaration was mainly felt through the city being chosen for the seat of government. Within the actual walls of the Holy City little change could be made in the existing relations of Jew, Christian and Muslim. Although there were some Jews who imagined that the British Government would at once evict the followers of Mohammed from what had been 1,800 years ago the site of the Jewish Temple, it was never probable, nor, indeed, could it be read into the Balfour Declaration, that the slightest attempt should be made to interfere with the rights of the Muslims in the Haram-esh-Sherif or of the Christians in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. In fact, the impartial justice of the administration formed by Sir Herbert Samuel has gone a long way to remove the distrust and dissension among the three great religious communities. Outside the walls of the Holy City political animosities tended to militate against religious tolerance. The preponderance of the Zionist

agency and the enforcement of Hebrew as an official language, together with the fear felt by the Arabs lest they should be dispossessed of their property in favour of the Jews, have led to a deadlock in government, which has prevented the High Commissioner from creating that form of constitutional government which was laid down in the Mandate from the League of Nations. The political future of Palestine, Syria, and Transjordania is outside the scope of a history of Jerusalem. Whatever may be the outcome of the Balfour Declaration and the Arab refusal to participate in the government, Jerusalem has recovered much of its former glory, and is rapidly re-establishing a claim to be reckoned among the important cities of the world. It is improbable that Jerusalem will ever be subjected again to the dangers and trials of war. As a commercial centre the rapid extension of mechanical and aerial transport bids fair to bring Jerusalem on to the route of commerce, in which the weeks and months of camel and caravan travel will be replaced by the days of mechanical transport. With a better provision of accommodation for tourists Jerusalem will become, perhaps not for its advantage, one of the goals for tourists of every nation. The twentieth century seems intended to be one in which the great religious faiths will be put to the severest tests, and the struggle between politics and religion as the dominating force in the human mind will assume an acute form. Even at the time of writing, such time-honoured religious institutions as the Caliphate of Islam, the Holy Synod of Russia, and the Œcumenical Patriarchate of the Orthodox Church seem

to be tottering and in peril of destruction. It is possible that more and more the religious centres of Islam, Christianity and Jewry may be found established within the precincts of Jerusalem, and acting in harmony with each other. Even now, on every 9th of December, the heads of the various Churches, Christian, Jew, Islam, accompany the High Commissioner and the Governor of Jerusalem to the Protestant Cathedral of S. George and offer their united thanks to Almighty God for the liberation of Jerusalem from the domination of the Turk, the only absentee being the head of the Roman Church, which declines to participate in this formal celebration of a triumph in a cause with which in the Middle Ages the Latin Church was so gloriously concerned. To-day, also, it has been found possible at the annual Muslim Feast of Nebi Musa for the Grand Mufti of Islam to entertain with cordial hospitality both the Jewish High Commissioner of Palestine and the Christian Governor of Jerusalem.

As one walks through the streets and bazaars of Jerusalem, on the walls, or even across the Haram-esh-Sherif, there is omnipresent the ever haunting figure of Jesus Christ. It was here that Jesus, the God-in-Man, was born, and here that Jesus died for our sins. On that Birth, on that Death, and on the Resurrection from that Death, have been built the colossal fabrics of the great nations of the West. Great Britain, Russia, France, Spain, Italy, Germany, Austria, Holland, Belgium, Scandinavia, are all based on a bedrock of Christianity. So are both the continents of America, Australia and the remainder of the British Empire. This all came

out of Jerusalem through the personality of Jesus Christ. Whether believer or unbeliever, every inhabitant of these countries dates the facts of his life from the Birth and Death of Jesus Christ. It is tempting now to quote the words of the Roman Emperor Julian, the enemy of Christianity, struck down in the full vigour of his strength, and at the moment which seemed to indicate the restoration of the ancient pagan ritual, "Vicisti, O Galilæe," but the victory is not yet complete. It can only be in accordance with the true teaching and gospel of Jesus Christ that the dissensions of Christianity can be healed. Jesus died to save all mankind. It is Jesus Christ who can lead the Christian to place his hand in that of the Muslim and bid him join their voices together in the worship of the One and Only God. It is Jesus Christ who can tell the Jew that He was once a Jew Himself, and that His teaching was at the outset and is still based upon the teaching of Moses. It is a singular coincidence that a story which began with the request of a Canaanite governor for protection against the attacks of the Khabiri, or Hebrews, should after three or four thousand years end upon the same note of apprehension. Whatever the government may be in the future, British, Jew, Arab or even Turkish, there must be a new Palestine, a new Jerusalem, looking forward and not backward, not to the memory of a David, a Judas Maccabeus, a Herod, a Godfrey de Bouillon, a Saladin, not even to an Allenby, but to a greater Ruler and Deliverer than all of these. It is surely the voice of Jesus Christ which speaks through the words of the late leader of one of the youngest and most progressive

religions, known as Bahaism, the outcome of the religious movement known as Babism in Persia. As recently as 1911, when concluding a visit to London, this leader, Sir Abdul Baha Abbas, bade farewell in these words:

"My hope is that through the zeal and ardour of the pure in heart the darkness of hatred and difference shall be entirely abolished and the light and love and unity shall shine; that this world shall become a new world and things material the mirror of the divine; that the whole world shall become as a man's native country and the different races be counted as one race. . . . I pray that blessing may be upon all who work for union and progress."

With these noble words in our ears let this story end with the words of the Psalmist, "I was glad when they said unto me, 'Let us go into the House of the Lord.' Our feet shall stand within thy gates, O Jerusalem."

"PRAY FOR THE PEACE OF JERUSALEM."

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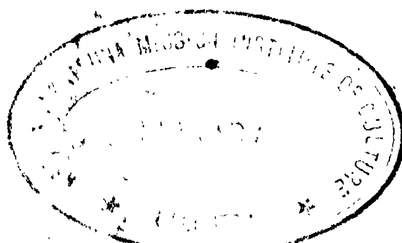
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